

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1817.

ART. I. *An Historical Inquiry into the Ancient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Crown*: commencing with the Period in which Great Britain formed a Part of the Roman Empire. By James Baldwin Brown, Esq. Vol. I. Part I. *The Reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great*. pp. xliv. 192. Price 7s. Underwood. London. 1815.

THE Catholic Question has again occupied the deliberations of the British Parliament, and still the triumph of success on the part of the Roman Catholics is deferred. We say deferred, because there can scarcely exist any doubt that the advocates of their claims will at no distant period carry their point. Even the opponents of the measure begin to yield to this conviction, and to deem the evils of a perpetuated discussion, scarcely inferior to those which are apprehended from the concession itself. Political danger is the only ground on which the boon is withheld, for there appears to be no question that the measure, if consistent with safety, is desirable; but they who still resist the demands of the Catholics, wish to have the merit of yielding to necessity, forgetting that the safety of concession is diminished by the circumstances which render it unavoidable, and that the measure becomes less politic, as it becomes more necessary.

That no danger would attend the admission of the Roman Catholics to a participation of secular power, no reasonable man can, we apprehend, be found sincerely to maintain. The Roman Catholic tenets, it is more and more evident, are unchanged, and unchangeable. In that intolerance which constitutes an essential article in the Romish creed, it is impossible to deny that there are the elements of political danger to a Protestant establishment. And it must be allowed that the State, as the responsible guardian of the interests of the community, is bound to take cognizance of political danger. It is not for 'the quality of their faith,' or 'the modes of their worship,' in respect of which they are, as religious beings, accountable to God alone, but it is their political tenets which form their disqualification for official station and legislative authority. It is

their avowed subjection to a foreign potentate as their ecclesiastical head, their avowed intolerance of all heretical churches, and their belief in the dispensing power of the Church, which render it a matter of doubtful policy, whether they shall be admitted to the full privileges of British subjects. In this respect they differ from all other classes of Dissenters, who are excluded from their common rights as citizens, solely on account of their religious character.

The Catholic Question appears to us to rest entirely upon political expediency: only, since the exclusion of any class of subjects from their natural rights must be considered as in itself an evil, the moment the concession can be made to appear compatible with safety, to withhold it not only becomes inexpedient, but begins to be unjust, for its justice is involved in its expediency. The social rights of individuals can suffer no legitimate abridgement, except in consideration of the public good, or the public safety. Expediency, though it cannot be the rule of moral duty, is the adequate basis of social law, and in this instance we conceive that the question can be determined only by the dictates of enlightened policy.

It is not our intention at present to go into all the bearings of this highly interesting and momentous subject. We are aware that different grounds have often been assumed by the opponents of the Catholic claims, and that notions equally at variance with the religious rights of all men, and with every sound principle of government, have been mixed up by intolerance and bigotry, in the discussion. The work before us, although not obnoxious to a charge of this nature, is one which appears to us to be of a pernicious tendency. Without going more at large, therefore, into the general question, we shall confine ourselves to a simple refutation of the false principles and irrelevant arguments brought forward by the present Author.

Mr. Brown appears to have composed this Inquiry expressly for the use of the Members of the British Parliament. 'A copy of the first chapter, embracing the history of the proceedings on the Donatist Schism, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine, was some time since transmitted to Viscount Sidmouth, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with a view to its being printed by order of the House of Commons, on the motion of an honourable and learned Member, at whose suggestion the work was originally undertaken.' Such is the Author's own account of his present production. The non-official character of the Report having precluded its introduction into the House, Mr. Brown sends it forth to the world on his own responsibility, having previously deposited the original document in the office of the Home Secretary.

It may perhaps have already excited the surprise of our readers, that the 'Donatist Schism,' and the acts of the 'Emperor Constantine,' should be offered to the attention of the British Legislature, in connexion with any of its anticipated deliberations in the Nineteenth Century. They may be disposed to ask what are the modern cases to which detailed accounts of the proceedings in Africa, relative to the Donatists in the Fourth Century, are intended to apply. The answer is, To the demand of a negative voice, or *veto*, in the Crown of these realms, in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops, as a condition of removing from persons professing the Romish faith, the civil disabilities and pains to which they are now liable: a case which surely might be settled without either Constantine or the Donatists, or Mr. Brown's laborious conclusions and deductions from the ancient records of their acts and deeds.

It is possibly in the recollection of our readers, that Lord Grenville, in his letter to Lord Fingal, maintains, that the measure of communicating to our fellow-subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, the full enjoyment of our civil constitution, accompanied with suitable arrangements maturely prepared and deliberately adopted, would be an act of undeniable wisdom and justice. These suitable arrangements have been generally understood to include the concession on the part of the Catholics, of the *veto*, that is, the transferring of the negative possessed by the Pope in the nomination of the Roman Catholic bishops and vicars apostolic, into the hands of the British Government. The concession of the *veto* has been always hitherto resisted by the Catholics, who have declared in very strong terms, that they never can consent to any dominion or control whatsoever over the appointment of their prelates on the part of the Crown, or of the servants of the Crown; while the prelates themselves have avowed their determination to bear the heaviest trials, and to die as victims, rather than to concede power or influence in any part of the Catholic Church to a non-catholic sovereign. On this point of concession there exists a radical difference between the Catholics and many of the ablest and most zealous supporters of their claims.

In relation to this question, and the circumstances which have become associated with it, Mr. Brown brings forward this historical Inquiry, the subject of which he represents as possessing at the present moment a peculiar interest and daily increasing importance; and the object of which is to persuade the Catholics into a surrender of the *veto*. Favourable to their claims, he asserts the question of the *veto* to be inseparably connected with the propriety of granting to the Roman Catholics the prayer of their petition. The exercise of a spirit of mutual concession, is, in his opinion, indispensable to the ob-

taining of the desired object. In accordance with these sentiments, he has employed himself in collecting such evidence as to him seems best calculated to convince the Catholics, that the security required of them is neither an unprecedented, nor an improper demand. His object is to shew that 'the reserving
' to the crown a *veto* on the appointment of their bishops, and
' a proper control over their communications with the Papal
' See, in matters of external regulation, is quite consistent with
' the interference of the Supreme secular Magistrate, in the
' concerns of the Church, from the period at which it was first
' united with the State, under their favourite Emperor Constantine the Great, to the moment when the Roman Catholic
' Faith ceased to be the established religion of the country.'

Adverting to the opinion that the question which the claim of the *veto* has originated, might receive elucidation from the practice of other* Roman Catholic states in the appointment of bishops, he remarks, that 'the fullest exposition of this practice could only tend to agitate another and a much more important question, which sooner or later must be distinctly met.'

'To what extent was the supreme secular power of the state accustomed to interfere in the government of the church, since any thing like an union between these once opposing powers was first effected; and by that means was that interference maintained, in opposition to the encroaching and reiterated claims of the spiritual head of, at one period, every country in Europe, to an exclusive jurisdiction over its external regulation, as well as its internal discipline?'

This is the question which Mr. Brown represents to be so important, and to provide an answer to it is the object of his present undertaking.

If the value of a work is to be estimated by the temper, the talents, and the assiduity of which it furnishes evidence, in the Author, Mr. Brown's performance must then be highly rated. On these grounds we cannot hesitate in making a very favourable report of his character as a writer. But if the merit of a work consists in its utility, in its tendencies to enlighten mankind, and to accomplish great and worthy purposes subservient to their welfare; then, it seems to us, that the labour which has been employed in the composition of this inquiry, has been exerted in vain, and that the talents of the writer have been altogether misdirected. To read numerous and learned works, and to write a book for the purpose of establishing the conclu-

* Mr. Brown does not explain in what sense he uses this word, which evidently imports that England is a Roman Catholic State.

sion that 'It can no longer be doubted then that Constantine directly interfered with the internal, as well as the external discipline of the Church,' (p. 46) * is, in our judgement, a sad waste of time and labour. For were the proof of this conclusion as clear and as well established as the demonstration of any geometrical theorem, what end can be promoted by it? What should we think of an author who should fill page after page with accounts of persons who had interfered with the property of other men, and should allege them as precedents for us to surrender our money to any one that might have the hardihood to demand it, without establishing the equity of his claim? What should we say of a writer who should gravely assert at the conclusion of a copious recital of incidents relative to the practice of the Barbary States, that it is impossible to doubt their taking possession of the persons and property of European navigators? The commanders of slave-ships on the coast of Africa have interfered in the control and regulation of thousands of mankind: but what then? Had they a right so to do? This is the question. Let it therefore be assumed as incontrovertible, that Constantine interfered in the concerns of the Church, and that other secular magistrates have interfered in the affairs of the Church: is it not indispensable to inquire by what right they did so, and to satisfy the mind of an honest inquirer, that in so doing they were exercising an authority correctly vested in them? 'It can,' to use Mr. Brown's words, 'no longer be doubted,' that papal power has interfered to give religious law to the world; nor does it admit of question that it has actually compelled the nations of Europe, for long periods of time, to receive the prescriptions of its authority, and to do homage to its will. Has it not asserted its control over the concerns of the Church, and exercised at its pleasure the power of binding and loosening all mankind, forbidding them to buy or sell, unless they bore in their forehead its mark and the number of its name? What kind of speculation then, shall we call it, to examine the records which contain the evidences of these facts, and after days and nights of uninterrupted research and

* — 'but whether in so doing he acted prudently or otherwise, it is not my business to attempt to decide.' These words complete the sentence, part of which is extracted above. We have thought proper to supply them in a note, to preclude the appearance of unfairness in quotation, though, as will very satisfactorily be manifest, they make no change in the ground of our remarks. The external discipline of the Church was not more the business of Constantine, than the internal. It is besides impossible to keep them separate. Our objections are to the jurisdiction assumed in any and in every form and not to any particular branch of its exercise.

toil, to put down, as the result of our labour, the statement, that papal power, as to the fact of its extensive prevalence and rule, is established beyond all doubt? Yet is this precisely similar to the business in which Mr. Brown has been engaged, only he has set down the opposite conclusion of secular interference in the concerns of the Church. Both conclusions are alike valid. But what do they prove? Absolutely nothing as to the right by which either imperial or papal power presumed to rule the human conscience; for interfering in the concerns of the Church, is only another phrase for denying the right of private or individual judgement in religion. And as to the priority of exercising such authority, that is not worth a moment's attention. It is just like an attempt to determine whether the slave trade, or the Barbary piracies, took the precedence in point of time.

Mr. Brown, in several of his notes, seems to triumph over Baronius and other abettors of the papacy, who contend for the independence of the ecclesiastical on the secular power of the State during the earlier ages of Christianity, because he finds that Constantine exercised a supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Is he not aware that there are ages of Christianity still earlier than that in which Constantine lived? Does he not perceive that if he is entitled to triumph over Baronius, others may for the same kind of reason triumph over him? Is it not a more important inquiry, to ascertain the nature of Christianity, and its relation to men from the spirit of its laws and from the design of its author? We must not suffer such a delusion to be put upon us, as to look to Constantine for a model of Christian discipline. For what purpose have we received the Gospels? There are unquestionably reasons which may justify our attention to inquiries similar to this on which Mr. Brown has been employed; but in our times, and in the circumstances and for the purposes which connect themselves with the claims of secular magistrates to interpose in religious matters, it is altogether futile and ridiculous to direct our view to Constantine, surrounded by his courtiers and the Bishops of the Nicene council, judging the Donatists, and passing sentence in the Arian controversy. The question to be determined, is the question of *right*. It is not who have interfered in the concerns of the Church, nor when, and where, magistrates have exercised jurisdiction in the Church; but, by what title and authority they have presumed to order and control the faith and practice of men professing religion. Compared with this, Mr. Brown's inquiry is absolutely puerile.

These are not the times to make a demand of unenlightened deference to authority, or to hold up the proceedings of religious dictators as precedents. Men must be instructed in the know-

ledge of the obligations on which their duties are founded, as well as in the duties themselves which they owe to the guardians of society. Every means which may aid man in his endeavours to act worthily as a rational agent, is entitled to consideration; but we cannot regard the productions of even wise and good men, as entitled to that character, if they assign political duties to the same class of obligations as those which are religious. Custom is frequently a good reason with respect to the former; but it is without meaning as applied to the latter. We cannot therefore perceive the propriety of the method by which it is now proposed to challenge the submission of mankind to human authority in any matter of a religious nature. Constantine may have played the tyrant over men's consciences; and so may Henry the Eighth, and Queen Mary, and other sovereigns: but why are we not to repel a prescriptive argument founded on their acts and deeds, apart from the sanctions of Divine law, without which they can be regarded as acts only of impiety and cruelty?

It is then, we think, but a very partial and unsatisfactory method of proceeding in a business so great and weighty, to merge the question of right, and to urge on our consideration the facts brought forward in this 'Inquiry.' The reasons on which their force as laws is implied, must be argued, and they must stand or fall by the sentence of the proper judge. On the subject which Mr. Brown has taken in hand, there is another question which must be distinctly met, and one much more important than that which he has represented as the ulterior question, to the exposition of the practice of Catholic States. Before we proceed farther in the discussion of the main point, we shall extract a sentence or two from the work before us, for the purpose of more fully disclosing to our readers the object and opinions of its Author.

'It must not be concluded because I contend that in the earlier ages of christianity the strong coercive jurisdiction of the crown over the affairs of the church is every where manifest, that I should, therefore, be prepared to contend for the propriety, or even the right of exercising that jurisdiction to the extent to which it was then carried: for it has been my sole business to show what that jurisdiction was; and if I have in any degree succeeded in placing that point in a clearer light than that in which it has yet been exhibited, I shall readily leave to others the more difficult but not more laborious task of shewing what that jurisdiction ought to have been.' *Preface*, p. xiii.

The following paragraph contains one of Mr. Brown's deductions from the facts detailed by him in his narrative of the Donatist Schism, which is certainly very correctly inferred from those proceedings which he has recorded. We quote it to shew

the intent and bearings of the Author's mind in this work. Had he satisfied himself with assigning to the whole transaction its proper character, as an instance of misdirected authority, and of direct persecution, we should not have withheld our suffrage in his behalf; but when the only use to be made of such a sentence, is to assert the jurisdiction of the Crown in religious affairs, we should fail in our duty by forbearing to mark it with our censure. The Author is referring to the decision of Constantine on the appeal of the Numidian bishops against Cecilian, in the affair of the Donatists.

'Tenth: That having acquitted the respondent (*Cecilian*,) on this appeal of the breach of ecclesiastical discipline laid to his charge, the emperor punished the appellant bishops (*the leaders of the Donatists*) for their irregular and schismatical conduct, (for there was no pretence to charge them with a violation of any civil law of the empire,) by confiscating their goods; confining them in prison; or sending them into exile, as a commutation of the punishment of death, with which, previously to entering on the appeal, he had threatened to visit whichever party he should find disturbing the peace of the church.' p. 20.

We wish our readers to attend carefully to this passage, and to judge of the design of a work into which such a sentence can be introduced otherwise than for the purpose of receiving the severest reprobation. *Persons against whom there is no pretence to charge them with a violation of any civil law, punished by the supreme magistrate of a State*, presents such a subject to the thoughts of all mankind in whom reason is not extinguished, as may well rivet their attention. We say, it should not be hastily dismissed from the consideration of our readers; and we repeat, that the condemnation of such conduct is not necessary to the design of the present work.

To the jurisdiction itself then Mr. Brown has nothing to oppose. His scruples and objections attach only to the manner in which it might be exercised. The coercive power of the Crown, or, in other words, the arbitrary will of Constantine, may have gone too far to receive Mr. Brown's approbation; deeds may have been perpetrated by its order, which he may feel disposed to condemn; but that Constantine should be the ruler of the Church, is clearly admitted. In conformity with this sentiment, we find the Author speaking of the secular magistrate's interference in the Church, as an 'original and general rule,' *Preface*, p. vii.—as 'an established rule,' p. ix.—as 'the ancient rights of the crown,' p. x.—and in p. xiii. he speaks of 'the proper ascendancy of the established religion.'

We cannot pass by language of this kind, but feel ourselves bound to expose its injustice. As we shall endeavour to prove that the principles on which Mr. B.'s whole argument is con-

structed, are erroneous and mischievous, we have felt it to be our duty to state them with as much precision as possible. He assumes, that the interference of Constantine, in the affairs of the Church, was a legitimate interference, which could be wrong only by accident, as it might be carried to an undue extent; and, as he states the question of right, it imports not the possible injustice of the interference, but merely its improprieties in particular instances; 'he leaves to others the task of shewing;' not whether such an interference ought to be admitted, or the contrary, but 'what that interference ought to have been;' a mode of expression which certainly assumes the question of right as already determined.

If then such a jurisdiction be acknowledged, who is to determine the limits within which it ought to have been confined? Who is to be the judge of its proper range? Are the boundaries according to which this interference shall be restricted or enlarged, any others than those which the mind of the party interfering will assign? Clearly not; for he himself is, to the exclusion of every party, the judge of what shall be proper. He alone is to determine when his interference shall be exerted, and when it shall be suspended or withdrawn. Who was to judge the acts of Constantine exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction? And by whom was its extent to be defined? By the bishops? Certainly not; for this would be to concede their superiority over the monarch. By the laws of the empire? No; for the laws of the empire had no direct reference to Christianity, previously to Constantine's time, and such as were then enacted in relation to it, were purely the expression of Constantine's own mind. The acknowledgement then of Constantine's right to interfere in the affairs of the Church, amounts to nothing short of admitting his authority to do as he himself might please.

No other account, therefore, it is evident, can be given why Constantine ruled over the Church, than that he was pleased so to do. But if Constantine ruled the Church, because he possessed the means of coercing its members, every person, capable of exerting the same force, must be considered as possessing a title to ecclesiastical dominion equally legitimate. Galerius, the predecessor of Constantine, published an edict, in which he commanded the subjects of the empire, who had embraced Christianity, to return, on pain of death, to the religion of their pagan ancestors. Now it undeniably follows, that if Constantine was right, as the supreme secular magistrate of the State, in interfering with religion, Galerius could not be wrong in his interference. Interference in religion, even in respect of the Christian religion, did not commence with Constantine; and we certainly expect some better answer from a

defender of Constantine's measures, than the allegation, that Galerius was a heathen, but that Constantine was a Christian. If it was one of the rights of the imperial authority, to control religion, it was as much the right of Galerius to demand the obedience of the people to his edicts, as it could be the right of Constantine to prescribe to them by his mandates. Thus we shall establish, by the same rule, that to persecute Christians at one time, and to spare them at another, are equally to be commended as legitimate acts; that whether they be tortured and destroyed, or be suffered to exercise their worship and discipline undisturbed, it is the same as to equity; since it is evident, that the persecution of Christians by a heathen emperor, is as just a proceeding as is the persecution of any sect of Christians, the Novatians for example, by a Christian emperor; that is to say, both emperors were exercising a jurisdiction over the religious opinions and profession of their subjects, according to their own will and pleasure: "Whom they would they slew, and whom they would they saved alive." The question to be solved, is not implicated with the religious profession of the persons over whom they exercised this coercive power, as if the right or the wrong, which it involves, were to be determined by difference of that kind, but relates solely to the reasons on which that coercion is rested; and as these are to be found only in the minds of the coercing parties, they are essentially the same in both cases. If Constantine had power to rule the Church, so had Galerius. Interference in religion, as practised by the former emperor, is just as correct a precedent as is the conduct of the latter. *This* would justify the proscription of Christians at Constantinople, and *that* would sanction the persecution of Christians and Mohammedans at Lisbon, or at London. Into such absurdities and mischiefs do they plunge, who recognise in human power authority to interfere in religion!

'The emperor,' (Constantine,) says Mr. Brown, 'frequently asserted, that the care of the church was committed to him, (as the conduct of the clergy, during his reign, proves that they believed it to have been committed).' By whom, and by what instrument of conveyance, was this 'care' committed to Constantine? Mr. Brown has incurred a heavy responsibility, if, in the course of his investigations, he has met with such a document, and conceals the knowledge of it. As it could be nothing less than a Divine communication, it would be fully satisfactory, if properly verified, and all objections to 'the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the crown, in the early ages of Christianity,' would be silenced by its production. The only proof, however, that the care of the Church was committed to Constantine, is his own assertion to that effect. This kind of proof would make strange work in its application to other

purposes. His Holiness of Rome asserts, that to him the care of the Church is committed, and he announces himself to the world as the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ. Let Protestants then look to themselves. The conduct of the Clergy proved that they believed the care of the Church was committed to Constantine. Doubtless! And does not the conduct of the Catholic Clergy prove that *they* believe the care of the Church to be committed to the Pope? This argument is most admirable. It may very copiously be produced to prove, that the care of the Church is committed to the secular magistrate; but we must, however, have something better than this asserting, and this believing, to warrant the submission of our consciences to Emperors, or Kings, or Popes. Till we shall be favoured with another revelation from heaven, introducing a new economy, and giving us instructions on the subject of religious obedience, we must abide by the laws of the existing dispensation, and call no man master, remembering that in religion, our sole master is Christ.

A correct exposition of the causes in which the opinions and practice of Constantine, as an arbiter and ruler over the Church, originated, would, we believe, furnish a most complete refutation of every claim with which he has been considered as invested. We have not room for a statement of every particular which we might be able to offer on this subject; we shall, however, attempt to exhibit the character and pretensions of Constantine, some what more approximating to truth than as they have been commonly represented.

At the period of his assuming the purple, Constantine had not discarded Paganism. Both Eusebius (*Vita Const. Lib. 1, 27*), and Socrates (*Hist. Lib. 1, 2*), describe him, when engaged in his preparations to give battle to Maxentius, as deliberating with himself to what deity he should address his supplications for aid in that warfare. On the defeat of Maxentius, a decree was issued by the joint Emperors, Constantine and Licinius, for the protection of religionists of every description, Pagan and Christian, leaving them in full and free possession of the liberty to which they had a natural and equal claim. 'We,' say these personages, 'having long considered that the freedom of religious worship ought not to be restrained, but that every person should enjoy the right of attending to religion, as he himself may please; and that we should allow, as well to Christians as to all others, the right of worshipping as they may freely chuse; declare our will that no person shall be hindered from professing the Christian religion, and that every person be free to adopt the religion opinions and practice which he approves.* Here we perceive that the

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. X. 5. p. 480. Ed. Reading.

subjects of the empire were not to be molested for their religion, whether it were Christianity or Paganism, which is left to the arbitration of their own minds. No force was to be applied to the conscience. Protection was afforded, without respect of religious profession, to every subject. Religion is treated (as it always ought to be) as a personal affair in which the civil power of the State might not interfere. By what reasons shall we be prevented from setting aside the whole tenor and tendency of Mr. B.'s pages, in our assuming of the prior validity and justice of this edict over all the subsequent interference and acts of Constantine? If the rights which it recognises and establishes, be founded in justice, then it undeniably follows, that every succeeding measure of a contrary kind was unjust. It was strictly within the limits of the Emperor's authority, to assure all the subjects of the empire, of protection in the exercise of their religion.

Constantine had not yet learned to rule the consciences of men; them, we find, he leaves in uninterrupted possession of their native liberty. Soon after the death of Maxentius, but especially after the defeat of Licinius, when Constantine held solely the reins of power, and the ministers of the Christian religion, already secularized in spirit, and aspiring to worldly pre-eminence, obtained access to his presence, and ingratiated themselves with the Emperor, he assumed the office of prescribing to the faith of mankind. For the possession of his favour, the ministers of the Christian churches bartered their independance. They solicited his attention to their controversies. They made him the arbiter of their differences, not because he was wise, but because he was powerful. He was flattered by them into the belief of the most monstrous tenets, importing his supremacy over the Christian communities of the empire. The most extravagant panegyrics were lavished upon him, and his unworthy adulators ascribed to him the honours and prerogative of the divinity. The office of prescribing to the faith of mankind, and of judging offences against the Gospel, which the invisible Head of the Church has challenged as exclusively his own, was accounted proper for a mortal. Constantine became the judge of heresy. He summoned and presided in ecclesiastical councils. He published rescripts and issued edicts, not as formerly, to assure the subjects of the empire of protection in the exercise of their religion, but to denounce religious opinions, and to threaten the infliction of the most severe punishments against all persons whose tenets and discipline might not correspond to the standard which he proposed. 'Why,' exclaims the Emperor, in an ordinance which he published against the Novatians and others, 'why should we bear any longer with your impieties! You shall not dare in future to meet together;—

'you are deprived of the places in which you have been accustomed to assemble.'* In a letter addressed by Constantine to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, one of his presbyters at the commencement of the Arian controversy, he denominates the points in dispute between these ecclesiastics trivial, and is pleased to consider their opposition, as a contest about words.† Soon after, however, his letter to the Alexandrians, informing them of the proceedings of the Council of Nice, spoke a very different kind of language. The opinions of Arius are there stigmatized as 'wicked doctrines;' he himself is described as an impudent servant 'of the devil;' his books are ordered to be burnt, and the punishment of death is declared against every person refusing to destroy them.‡ The result of Constantine's interference in the case of the Donatists, we shall give in Mr. Brown's words. The sentence of the Emperor, he remarks,

'Was soon followed by the enactment of some severe laws against a sect which had so often been condemned by various tribunals, to whose cognizance the Emperor had referred the decision of their complaints. By one of these he deprived them of their churches, and other places of assembly, which he confiscated to the public treasury, at the same time forbidding them to assemble themselves together for the purpose of religious worship. He likewise sequestered the private property of those whom he had condemned, and even sentenced some of them to death; though he afterwards seems to have commuted this, for a milder punishment, most probably that of exile, which some of them certainly underwent.' p. 14.

This was ecclesiastical jurisdiction! These were the proceedings of the Emperor Constantine! It cannot be doubted that Constantine interfered in the concerns of the Church; that is, he employed his power to coerce conscience, and to punish its exercise in religion. But whence did he derive that authority? Who committed the care of the Church to him? Who gave Constantine authority to pronounce the opinions of men erroneous? The power which he possessed, was correct, as it was exercised for the regulation of political affairs; but it was most flagitious as directed towards religion, the cognizance of which no mortal can claim. Christianity could not, in the least, be affected by the elevation of Constantine to the imperial throne; its relations to man were still the same, its spirit and its laws being unalterable. Human power can never, by any of its acts, obtain the assent of the mind to truth, which can be received only on the perception of its existence; hence, the Gospel, which can benefit man only as he sincerely receives it, and yields himself to its influence, was committed to the world by its Author, accompanied,

* Euseb. Vita Constant. Lib. III. 64, 65, pp. 620, 621, Ed. Reading.

† Ibid. Lib. II. 71. p. 571.

‡ Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. 9. p. 31. Ed. Reading.

with the evidences of its divinity, to take its course; to be rejected or embraced by those to whom it might be tendered, at their own peril. It was nothing less than a forcible and most pernicious invasion of the Christian religion, when Constantine undertook to be the judge of its professors. The fear of his wrath became the principle of a hypocritical proselytism; and the hope of his favour engaged men in a false avowal of discipleship. There is but too much reason to apprehend, that, notwithstanding the laboured and gorgeous panegyrics of Eusebius on the Emperor's piety, Constantine was but little acquainted with the principles, and still less with the spirit of the Gospel. He indeed could dictate *ὁμολογιος* to the Nicene Council, as the measure of the true faith; he could proclaim his intention to reduce mankind from error to the right way; he could provide splendid banquets for the bishops who frequented his court, in which Eusebius could perceive a representation of Christ's kingdom; he could erect magnificent churches, and endow them with riches; and he could trust to a baptism administered almost in his last moments, and purposely deferred till the shades of death were darkening his eyes, for the purgation of the sins of his whole life! The contaminations of guilt, which he had contracted, and the stains of blood which he had unrighteously and unnaturally shed, were, in his expectation, to be washed away by the sacred mysteries, as the baptismal waters were then denominated.

But whatever might be the character of Constantine, it belonged not to him to prescribe religious tenets, and to enforce them by secular authority. The proofs of his interference in the concerns of the Church, are, it must be granted, very abundant and very decisive: but whither do they tend? Most certainly not to convince us that religion is the proper element for human power; and as little that truth can be benefited by its assistance. The consequence of Constantine's interference in the affairs of the Church, was, 'That the Christian religion, which, for 300 years after the ascension of Jesus, had been spreading over a large part of Asia, Europe, and Africa, without the assistance of secular power and church authority, and at the convening of the Council of Nice, was almost every where through those countries in a flourishing condition, in the space of another 300 years, or a little more, was greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent, its glory debased, and its light almost extinguished!' *Lardner's Credib. vol. 8, p. 24.*

It may be very convenient to some persons to use the kind of language which we find adopted by Mr. Brown, that the supreme secular power of the State and that of the Church were 'once opposing powers,' between which a union was effected in the age of Constantine; but a sober inquirer, whose sole object is

truth, will feel himself dissatisfied with it ; and, after the fullest examination of its import, when compared with the nature of Christianity and the facts of history, compelled to reject it, as impertinent and deceptive. It is not true that the profession of Christianity was opposed to the secular authority of the State, obedience to civil government being inculcated by the Gospel, and exemplified in the conduct of Christians. Christ was not the rival of Cæsar, nor did he call mankind to become his followers for the purpose of engaging them in contention with political rulers. Christianity never presented itself in a hostile attitude against the power of the State ; it was, and ever must be, friendly to the order of society and the office of lawful magistracy. It is uniformly the same in all periods in its aspect towards civil government. The secular power was opposed to Christian profession as often as restraint and suffering were inflicted by the persons exercising it against Christians. In this respect the supreme secular power in the hands of Constantine and his successors, was opposed to the Christian religion ; for they favoured only their own party, with exemption from persecution. The heathen Emperors were not always persecutors of Christians ; they frequently permitted their Christian subjects to enjoy an interval of rest. Their forbearance, however, is not to be construed as importing a union between the Church and the power of the State. Nor could their conversion to the Christian faith have identified their government with the institute of the Gospel, as masters of its influence. Christianity can never form a union with the supreme power of a State, its object being, altogether, of a different kind from the end to which civil authority is legitimately directed. Christianity addresses itself to men as individuals, never as they constitute a political body. Nothing of its nature and adaptations can be learned but from the New Testament, in which the whole will of its founder is deposited. Since, therefore, neither Constantine, nor any of his successors, can supply the authority of a subsequent revelation, empowering them to preside over the dispensation of the Gospel, their acts and deeds, in connexion with religion, must ever stand on record as violations of right, in despite of the Gospel, usurpations of Christ's authority, and outrages on the consciences of mankind. To represent them in any other shape, is to confound all moral distinctions.

The will of civil rulers, moved and guided by worldly and ambitious prelates, ordering a part of their subjects to be tormented and destroyed, or degraded from their proper level in society, and providing indulgences and riches for another part of them, is too frequently the chief business of union between the secular power of a State and the Church. The resistance of the ministers of the Christian religion in Constantine's time, to the pa-

tronage which he offered them, might have been as a sovereign medicine in the crisis of an alarming disorder: their flatteries and their compliances were as unctions, 'which, while they smooth the skin, strike inward, and envenom the life-blood.' No other proof is required, than the proceedings of the Council of Nice, recorded as they are by most partial writers, in which the celibacy of the clergy was almost adopted as an ecclesiastical canon, and principle was grossly sacrificed to worldly interest, amid the ebullitions of party spirit, and the tumults of discordant opinion, to evince that the spirit of primitive subjection to Christ, by which alone the purity of his institutions can be preserved, was not the prevailing temper among the prelates who received Constantine's commands as law. The influence and authority which that Emperor began to exercise over the affairs of religion, were, in their consequences, most fatal to the rights of civil rulers; more pernicious to the interests of true piety, and more destructive to the rights and lives of mankind, than a thousand other plagues. Only the lightest woes were falling, when Heathen Emperors were the persecutors of Christians; the heaviest were to come in succeeding times, and the first of them descended when Constantine proclaimed himself to be the arbiter of religious profession. In the distribution of the gifts which he so profusely lavished on the obsequious bishops of his court, he scattered the seeds of most bitter miseries, which in their mature growth were the portion of civil rulers. The degradation of sovereigns, who were compelled to bow their lofty heads to the Popes of Rome, and own themselves their vassals,—a melancholy and inglorious bondage,—the sequestration of their kingdoms, and shame and sufferings in their most humiliating and wretched forms, sprang from the unholy usurpation of secular authority over the consciences of mankind: a righteous but terrible retribution.

We quit this part of the subject with the strongest protestation against any appeals to the proceedings of Constantine, as precedents by which to settle questions of Christian import; and we would admonish Mr. B. that by referring to them for the purpose he has in view, he argues our liberty, by citing examples, not of justice, but of tyranny.

We cannot conceal our surprise, that the Author of this inquiry should, after the facts which he has detailed, after the persecuting edicts to which his book contains more than one reference, and after the confiscations and banishments which he has recorded as resulting from the dominion over conscience which this emperor claimed and exercised, assert, that Constantine 'manifested a most anxious desire to preserve the peace of the church unbroken.' (See p. 32.) This is clearly the language of encomium; but in reference to such a person and to

such transactions, can language like this be appropriate? What persecutor has not manifested a most anxious desire to preserve the peace of the Church unbroken? When Charles the IXth of France perpetrated the atrocities of Bartholomew's day, when Louis the XIVth revoked the edict of Nantz, and proscribed the Protestants of his kingdom, they respectively manifested a most anxious desire to preserve the peace of the Church unbroken. So also did Mary, when she kindled the fires of Smithfield; so did Elizabeth, when she condemned the Puritans; so did James the First, when he executed Arians; and so has every tyrannizer over human conscience. The Inquisition itself was established for the very purpose of preserving the peace of the Church; and its most atrocious measures might be vindicated by the application of a rule which would give validity to the acts of Constantine. If the latter are of authority as precedents, merely because they are recorded facts, so are the former. If the one be assumed as correct in practice, because sanctioned by the clergy among whom Constantine presided, whose will was their law; so, for a similar reason, are the other. What does our Author mean in the sentence with which he concludes his account of the proceedings in the Council of Nice?

'No doubt can possibly be entertained of the binding force of a general council upon every part of the empire.'

If nothing more is intended by these expressions, than that the power of the emperor was employed to enforce the decrees of that council, and that the reception of the Nicene creed and submission to the determinations conveyed in the emperor's edicts relative to religion, were demanded on pain of suffering, no person contests the fact; and it is therefore very idle to set down with so much gravity, so very trite a conclusion. In this way, every instrument which has dictated to the faith of mankind, the canons and ecclesiastical decrees of councils and cabinets, together with all the penal sanctions by which they have been enforced, might be assumed as valid. The binding force of the most iniquitous laws, is equally indubitable with that of the Nicene council. Who questions the binding force of the sanguinary articles enacted by Henry VIII.? Such representations are evidently of no value; they are to all intents and purposes nugatory. They are facts in the history of religious persecution; nothing more.

If, however, the Author employs such expressions with another intent, and exhibits the facts to which he refers, as precedents for either legislative enactments or our submission, which in fact is evidently the case, then we must inquire on what ground is built that authority which assumes the control of conscience.

The question is plain and direct. Let it be plainly and directly answered, without evasion and without sophistry. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction as explained by Mr. B. imports the regulation of religious affairs by the secular magistrate. But why should *he* regulate religion? Religion may be defined as the regard which intelligent creatures owe to the Deity, of which his will is the sole standard: to ascertain that will, is therefore the business of every man. In what does the importance of religion consist, but in its relation to a future life, and to the eternal good or evil which awaits the moral probationer? The distribution of that good or evil which religion involves, is solely the prerogative of the Deity. To every individual belongs the right of personal judgement in religion. This principle being admitted, ecclesiastical jurisdiction cannot be a part of the rights of civil legislature. The principle which pervades Mr. Brown's Inquiry, is most hostile to the right of private judgement in religion, for it assumes in every page the right of the civil magistrate to control the religious opinion and practice; and we think that it is a self-evident proposition, that if every man's conscience be exclusively empowered to manage the whole of his religious concerns, there can be nothing left for the cognizance and control of another person.

The object of this inquiry into the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown, is to maintain the interference of the secular authority in religious affairs, directly indeed in reference to the case of the Catholics. The Author, however, must have taken a very superficial view of his subject, if he does not perceive its bearing beyond the line of that controversy. It involves all classes of dissentients from the National Establishment, since the object is to obtain the acknowledgement of a controlling power in religion over the subjects of the empire. Lord Sidmouth's Bill was framed precisely on the principles assumed in the 'Inquiry.' It was proposed as a measure of regulation, and included in its provisions a *veto* on the part of the Crown in the appointment of Dissenting teachers. It was properly considered as an attempt to fetter the conscience, and was successfully resisted as an invasion of the rights of Christians. Every reason on which opposition to that ill-advised and unjust proposal was founded, calls for the explicit reprobation of the principles which it is the design of the present work to countenance.

It must be remembered, that the claim of a *veto*, on the part of the Crown, against the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops, includes in its very nature a negative in the nomination of all Christian ministers. If the civil power may of right interfere in the regulations of a society as a *religious society*, objecting when it may be so pleased, to the leaders of its worship and the administrators of its ordinances, appointing to these offices persons of its

own selecting, it asserts its competency to over-rule the discipline of all Christian churches in the country. The right and practice of Dissenters of every description, Presbyterians, Independents, and Methodists, are therefore implicated. The rule which the 'Inquiry' would establish, prostrates all religious societies before the secular power; for as that power is represented as a controlling authority, it is necessarily the judge of its own interference, and no difference can possibly exist between the treatment of one class of religionists, and that of another, but such as its caprice or judgement shall create. It is not the direction which the secular power may give to its decrees and acts, that can for a moment be contemplated as the radical objection against it; but it is to the right itself that exception must be taken. In this view of the argument, which we contend is the only one of importance, all religious classes of men, as the supporters of a common cause, are interested in the opposition which the maintenance of their most valuable rights demands to an invasion of them.

We can never permit ourselves to discuss so great a question as the present, on any narrow or selfish grounds. In our hands it must always be a general question, unlimited by connexion, uncontrolled by attachment. We cannot separate any denomination of religious persons, from the question of religious rights, since to all classes of religious professors those rights are the same. We purpose adverting to this view of the subject in the sequel of our remarks. In the meantime, we may take the occasion to ask whether the Catholics of the United Kingdom can be either enlightened or persuaded by the mode of instruction which the Author of the 'Inquiry' has adopted. Will they perceive a parallel in the cases adduced as proofs and illustrations of the coercive power of Constantine, and their present circumstances? Not only do they object to the *veto* in the hands of a non-catholic government, as a measure utterly irreconcilable with the principles of their religion; but they are at variance with their opponents on the question of right. They oppose the demand of the *veto* as unjust; and can this objection be removed, and the whole question set at rest by accumulating proofs of a practice against which they protest? Mr. Brown proposes to collect such proofs down to the period when the Roman Catholic religion ceased to be the religion of the State. The change in the State from Popery to Protestantism is, however, the very circumstance which creates in the mind of a Catholic, the strongest of all reasons against the proposed submission. On every view of the subject we are driven back to the question of right as the only proper one. If precedents be assumed as the rule of duty to Catholics, what can be expected as the result of such a method, but the confirmation of their

prejudices, and their resolute adherence to all the tenets of the system to which they attach themselves? But let the question of right be argued, let the examination of claims to religious control become part of the business of the Roman Catholic, and the papal supremacy itself may possibly be detected as belonging to the number of tyrannical usurpations.

Mr. Brown expresses his wish, rather than his expectation, that the discussions on the Catholic Question may terminate in the removal of the pains, penalties, and disabilities, to which the *Catholics* are still liable, and in the securing to professors of the *Protestant* faith, the full enjoyment of those rights of conscience, to which they have long so strenuously and effectually asserted their right. But what are rights of conscience? Do they not belong to men as men? Can they attach to any particular denomination of religionists as such? Rights of conscience are antecedent to religious profession. The full enjoyment of the rights of conscience, is itself one of those rights. They are evidently inclusive of such things as come directly under the sole cognizance of every individual, the judgement of which belongs exclusively to himself, and for the neglect or improvement of which he is not answerable to man. Rights of conscience are in the strictest sense, personal rights; they cannot therefore be, in the very nature of things, matter of regulation by human laws, which are limited to political objects. In all his political compacts, therefore, and in every act of submission to civil authority, there is the exception of those rights on the part of every individual. Rights of conscience are so peculiar and so sacred, that in all their extent, they are, in reference to civil legislatures, extra-judicial; the responsibility which they involve, has no relation to human tribunals. The full enjoyment of the rights of conscience includes the exercise of those rights without molestation or hinderance; for no person can fully enjoy a right, the exercise of which exposes him to external restraint. The rights of conscience are the perfect freedom of the mind in all matters of religious opinion and practice. So entirely personal are these rights, that no individual may lawfully question another in relation to them. The very knowledge of them by a second party, can result only from the voluntary communication of the first. No man can be compelled to declare his religious sentiments. To make distinctions, therefore, between mankind, in reference to rights of conscience, is palpably wrong. To refer to the distinction between Protestants and Papists, as a religious distinction, in connexion with those natural rights, in the manner the Author has named them, is extremely impertinent to the case. A Jew, a Mahomedan, a Hindoo, a Catholic, are all respectively, equally with a Protestant, possessed of the rights of conscience, and

equally entitled to the privilege of asserting them. By what title does the Protestant hold those rights, which will not apply to the others? Those rights belong to men individually and universally: the religious appellations which they bear, and all the varieties of their religious opinions and practice resulting from the rights which they respectively exercise, must not be confounded with the right itself. Nor, as the right is the same in all, can there possibly be any superiority in one human being, as the basis of legislative interference or control, over another.

Mr. B. speaks of 'the proper ascendancy of the religion of the state.' By this is meant, that the religion of some persons shall entitle them to consideration and benefit from the government of their country, which are to be withheld from other persons not of the same religion. Is this in accordance with the acknowledgement that the full enjoyment of the rights of conscience, is the unalienable right of all mankind? Is this compatible with the reservation of the whole right of judging men for their religion to the supreme Being?

The '*proper*' ascendancy of religion, consists in its genuine influence on the heart, in its producing love to God and love to man, and purifying the affections from sin. A *political* ascendancy is utterly remote from the Divine purpose, as respects the end of religion, and is altogether foreign to the spirit of Christianity: the "kingdom of Christ is not of this world." It is, however, a *political* ascendancy that is intended by the phrase 'proper ascendancy' in Mr. Brown's Inquiry; and he represents the religion of the State, as *equitably* entitled to possess a political ascendancy. How can it be so entitled in equity? Our Author is a member of a Church, in which, as he relates, (p. 41) 'The Son is confessed to be of the same substance with the Father, in the very words which the first Christian emperor propounded to the first general council!' This is a privilege which we have no occasion to envy Mr. Brown, since we belong to a religious community in which we express our faith in the very words which Jesus Christ and the Twelve Apostles propounded. But what *equity* can there be in regarding a person who chants or reads the Nicene creed*, as possessed of a more worthy political character, than another who possibly never heard of it? Does the reception of this or of any other tenet, included in the creeds and formularies of the Church with which he holds communion, make Mr. Brown, in respect of civil capacity, superior to another man, who receives a different creed, or who satisfies himself with

* Mr. B. (p. 41.) should have written Nicene, instead of Athanasian, the term *ἀθανασίου* not occurring in the latter.

the volume of revelation, as it was imparted to mankind? He will not, we presume, maintain the affirmative. Political ascendancy in some, imports political degradation in others. If the former be founded on equity, so must the latter. Mr. Brown, therefore, does virtually assert, that a large proportion of the members of the community, are with justice politically degraded. Is there equity, let him inform us, in attaching incapacity to persons who reject the tenets of the Nicene Creed, or any other particular religious dogmas, solely on that account, or for any reason which is strictly a religious one? Would there be equity in a law which should attach political pravity to every person who might be born in a particular district of this kingdom? Such a law would be evidently monstrous; it would punish where there was no crime. And is it less monstrous to degrade politically any member of the community, for his religious opinions, as such, which he can as little resist or refuse to receive as his sentiments, as a child can resist its coming into the world? There is a necessity in ethics, as in physics. There may be policy in giving the professors of a particular religious creed civil pre-eminence, but there is no *equity* in the measure, and it is only by one of the grossest abuses of language, and of religion too, that political ascendancy in any class of religionists, is represented as the proper ascendancy of religion. Christianity presents invariably the same aspect to all mankind; it neither proposes nor requires that a difference in the political character and relations of men, should be created either by its reception or its rejection. These it leaves unaltered and inviolate. Whatever therefore be the religious profession of any of the members of the community, that circumstance in itself can never legitimately constitute the measure of their rights, or the test by which civil government is to pronounce on their political character.

Art. II. *The Civil and Military History of Germany, from the Landing of Gustavus to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia.* By the late Francis Hare Naylor, Esq. In Two Vols. 30s. Murray, London, 1816.

THE civil, military, and ecclesiastical annals, the political institutions and the historical geography, of the Germanic Empire, form, in their combination, a subject of such dignity and difficulty, as to excite our wonder that no writer equal to the work has yet been found to take it up. We have many valuable illustrations of different sections of the great plan; but a luminous and coherent projection of the whole is, in our own language at least, yet to be effected. We wish that such an undertaking had suggested itself to the Author of the volumes before us, as we are persuaded that, in many important respects,

he was well qualified for the task. Judging from the present work, he seems to have been a man of a clear head and a sound understanding, and of reasonable diligence. His chief defect arises from his ambitious imitation of Tacitus and Gibbon. He narrates distinctly; his statements are fair and intelligible; but his comments are never very profound, and his attempts at the pithy and ornate, never at all successful. Since, however, it suited better with Mr. Naylor's views, to give us a part only, we are glad that he has made choice of so interesting a portion, and treated it, in the main, with so much ability and industry. Mr. N. has deserved well of his reader. He keeps up the attention, and it requires nothing more than common and easy application, to preserve unbroken in the mind, the chain of a narrative which, unless skilfully treated, must have appeared painfully complicated.

The Emperor and King Charles V., after having kept Europe in continual agitation by his wars and intrigues, resigned his German sceptre to the hands of his brother Ferdinand, and retired with a broken constitution and debilitated mind, to a Spanish monastery. Ferdinand, though very slenderly endowed with honourable or liberal principles, seems to have been sufficiently aware of the policy of not unnecessarily kindling the slumbering embers of religious strife. The treaty of Passau, wrested from the baffled genius and declining fortunes of Charles V., by the consummate artifice and energy of Maurice of Saxony, had established the ecclesiastical liberties of Germany, upon an apparently firm foundation, and Ferdinand had neither the talents, the leisure, nor the power, either to sap or to destroy them. His son and successor, Maximilian II., is supposed to have imbibed from his tutor, Wolfgang Severus, sentiments favourable to the Lutheran faith; but the reign of Rodolph, who succeeded his father in 1576, was one uninterrupted series of weak, persecuting, and injurious measures. In his reign it was, that the Evangelical Union and the Catholic League, were formed, thus separating the states of the Empire into two conflicting parties, and involving Germany in the horrors of intestine war. He was succeeded by Matthias, whose mind seems not to have been indisposed to pacific measures, but his intentions were completely frustrated by the obstinate and bigoted character of the Duke of Styria, whose schemes were never arrested in their origin or progress, either by the dictates of honour or the scruples of conscience. This artful and flagitious prince, who, under the title of Ferdinand II. ascended the throne left vacant by the death of Matthias, gave himself up to the control and direction of the Jesuits; and, in his desperate efforts to establish the unlimited despotism of his sceptre and his creed, plunged Germany into the deepest ruin, and in-

involved himself in perpetual and profitless anxiety. In the outset of his reign, his situation was embarrassing; nearly the whole of his dominions were in a state either of actual rebellion, or of ill-concealed disaffection; but while some recommended flight, and others treacherous concession, he disdained to temporize, and though his capital was in a state of siege, he remained undaunted at his post.

‘This determination was scarcely embraced, when the doors of the apartment flew violently open, and gave admission to a band of men clad in armour. These were persons of rank and consideration among the disaffected party, and came as delegates from the circle of Austria, to demand permission for the states to confederate with the Bohemians. Though firmly resolved to endure every indignity, rather than subscribe to an instrument which would have invested rebellion with legal authority, Ferdinand expostulated with the deputies upon the impropriety of their behaviour, in presenting their petition in so unconstitutional a manner. “Ferdinand, wilt thou sign?” was the laconic reply; while, seizing his robe, the spokesman insinuated, by a menacing gesture, that a refusal might be attended with personal hazard.

‘At this perilous crisis, when called upon to decide between honour and life, the trampling of horses was distinctly heard in the court of the palace. The breast of Ferdinand beat high with hope that some unexpected succour was arrived. That hope was converted into certainty, when the trumpets sounded with a triumphant flourish, announcing victory. Overwhelmed with consternation, the intruders fled, nor thought themselves secure till they had found an asylum in the camp of the besiegers.’ p. 99—100.

The war with the Bohemians, who were led by the gallant patriot Count Thurn, the various movements of the Germanic States, the romantic exploits of Christian of Brunswick, and of that most brilliant of adventurers Count Mansfeldt, are described with brevity, but with much ability; we must, however, refer to the work itself for the details of these interesting events. After various desultory and consequently unsuccessful attempts to restrain the ambitious and encroaching politics of Austria, the Protestant alliance was consolidated under the auspices of Christiern IV. King of Denmark, who, at the head of a formidable force, took the field against the generals of Ferdinand. But these generals were men not formed to be mastered by the genius of Christiern; they were Tilly and Wallenstein; the first, the ablest *routinier* of his day, and the second, though far his inferior, we venture to affirm, in military skill and sagacity, attained a yet far greater name by the extravagance of his ambition, the desperate magnificence of his designs, and the unextenuated misery of his end. Tilly was capable of effecting important results with inadequate instruments; Wallenstein, with extraordinary means, often failed of accomplishing his

purpose. Tilly, as we have already remarked, was a general of routine; he took the art of war as he found it, but he carried the system that he adopted, to the greatest possible perfection. Wallenstein, borrowing from Mansfeldt the principle of making war support war, ruined the *morale* of his army, by permitting every species of military licentiousness, and vainly endeavoured to supply the absence of discipline by the accumulation of numbers. The ultimate failure of Tilly was owing partly to the faults of his subordinate officers, but chiefly to the ascendancy of the greater genius who opposed him. The fall of Wallenstein was, from the outset, inevitable. He had no chance whatever of success in his contest with Gustavus; and even if that accomplished soldier had never encountered him, his own folly and weakness must have wrought his destruction. With such antagonists as these, Christiern was wholly unable to contend. After a miserably conducted campaign or two, he was routed in every direction, and compelled to sue for peace, which he obtained, at the expense of dishonourable concessions, on tolerably easy terms.

Professor Mallet, in his excellent *Histoire de Dannemarc*, takes extraordinary pains to elevate the character of Christiern to an equality with that of Gustavus Adolphus. A more absurd attempt, we take upon ourselves to assert, was never yet made, and the positive dogmatic clumsiness with which it is made, is, if possible, yet more absurd than the hypothesis itself. As a specimen of the excess to which prejudice may carry even estimable and accomplished men, we shall quote from the first, and we believe the best edition of his *Histoire*, a part of the passage to which we have referred.

‘ It is known that Christian IV. failed under the efforts of
‘ an enemy over whom Gustavus triumphed. But it is not less
‘ certain that Christian IV. exhibited both in the course of this
‘ war, and in the other circumstances of his life, the same virtues
‘ which were crowned with success in the person of Gustavus;
‘ valour, activity, constancy, zeal for his country and
‘ his religion, relish for true glory, temperance, sufferance, military
‘ science, love of his soldiers, vigilance in the maintenance of
‘ order and discipline. That Gustavus possessed these
‘ qualities in a higher degree, can never be proved but by the
‘ event. Circumstances which were uniformly adverse to Christian
‘ IV. almost always favoured Gustavus Adolphus. What
‘ success and what glory would have crowned the exertions of
‘ the King of Denmark, if, beside being as cordially supported
‘ by his own subjects and his nobility, as Gustavus was by his, he
‘ had been also seconded by allies as cordial as those which that
‘ Prince found in Germany and in France? If the subsidies
‘ which were promised him had been as considerable and as re-

‘gularly paid; if as effectual diversions had been made in his favour; if the Protestant States of Germany had felt that zeal for their liberties and religion which was afterwards gradually awakened,—that indignation against the despotism of Austria, that conviction that it was time to make a final effort to break the yoke, which they testified when Gustavus charged himself with their defence?’—*Hist. de Dannemarc*, Tom. 3, page 223, 4to. 1777.

This sort of reasoning, *ex hypothese*, even when specious, is always unworthy of the historian, who should be only conversant with facts and close deductions from undeniable events; but when, as in the present instance, it is nothing more than a mere torrent of words without force or meaning, it deserves the severest reprehension. Who would not imagine from these bold affirmations, that Gustavus possessed throughout the whole of his career, all the advantages enumerated in the preceding extract? While, so far from this being the real state of things, the complete reverse was very nearly the fact. Gustavus had no advantages but those he gained, no confidence but what he conquered, no assistance before his successes had proved him an ally worthy of trust, and a leader who knew the way to victory. Christiern, on the contrary, completely threw away a game which seemed to be in his hands. Seconded by such men as Mansfeldt and Brunswick, he yet, from the outset of his enterprise to its disgraceful close, was unable to gain a single lasting advantage, or to establish, by a single plan, conceived with skill and executed with ability, a well-founded claim to the reputation of a general. Two or three instances of merited success, would have vindicated the military character of Christiern, far more effectually than all the pomp and positiveness of M. Mallet's eulogy.

‘The sun was rapidly sinking beneath the horizon’, June 24th, 1630, ‘when the Swedish fleet entered the harbour of Pennemond, in the Isle of Usedom. After superintending the preparations, for disembarking his troops in flat-bottomed boats, each capable of containing two hundred men, and two small pieces of artillery, the king leaped on shore, and falling upon his knees, implored the God of Hosts to favour an enterprise, undertaken in defence of religion and liberty. This pious duty being fulfilled, he seized a pickaxe, and, with the activity of a pioneer, began to throw up an intrenchment. The example of their sovereign kindling the emulation of all his officers, stimulated them to labour with such indefatigable zeal, that, before the dawn of day, a breast-work was completed, affording security against any sudden attack.’ pp. 405—406.

The measures of Gustavus were marked with the utmost promptitude and prudence. He lost no time, he neglected no advantage. Stralsund was, in the first instance, his only point

of support ; but he speedily compelled the Duke of Pomerania to sign a treaty of alliance ; and by a series of measures, planned and executed with consummate ability, secured fortresses and positions which enabled him to manœuvre on a more extended and enterprising scale. Alarmed at the progress of the Swedish monarch, his antagonists, while they endeavoured to stay his course by military opposition, were dastardly and base enough to direct against him the arm of the assassin.

‘ Quintio Aligheri (or del Ponte, as he is more frequently called), under pretext of having received a signal affront, went over to Gustavus, with a determination to destroy him by poison, or assassination, in case he should fail in his infamous plan of delivering him a prisoner into the hands of Torquato. A mind equally depraved having designated a captain in the Swedish service as a fit accomplice, it was resolved between them that the most probable means of effecting their purpose would be, for Quintio to endeavour to acquire the confidence of his master. Being gifted by nature with a quick understanding, an undaunted courage, and a constitution equal to the severest fatigue, he soon attracted the notice of a monarch, who was never backward to recompense merit ; and, being rapidly promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was consulted by Gustavus upon various occasions. The king being desirous of reconnoitring in person the Austrian lines, selected the Italian as a companion : because he naturally concluded from his former situation that he must be thoroughly acquainted with the adjacent country. Quitting the camp in the evening, with an escort of only seventy horse, he left part of them at the entrance of a defile, in order to secure a retreat. Aligheri, having undertaken to explore the environs, rode full speed to the imperial camp, and informed the general that the fortunate moment was at length arrived ; and, that if he would entrust him with the command of five hundred horse, it would be impossible for Gustavus to escape. Unsuspicious of treachery, and attributing to accident the protracted absence of his friend, the king was surrounded on his return. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, he disdained to yield ; so that the perfidious Italian, despairing of being able to take him alive, resolved to effect his hellish purpose by murder. He is said, however, to have confessed in the sequel, that at the moment he pointed his pistol against the Swedish hero, he was impressed with a kind of supernatural awe, which prevented his drawing the trigger. Falling at length with his wounded horse, the king was seized by the enemy, who were conducting him a prisoner to the imperial camp, when the party which had been left behind arrived unexpectedly to his succour. The officer who commanded it, alarmed for the safety of a beloved sovereign, advanced to meet him ; and hearing the report of fire-arms, hastened to the spot from whence it proceeded. A violent charge overturned the Austrian horse, and gave liberty to the illustrious captive. The intimacy which had prevailed between Aligheri and the man whom he had chosen for his confederate, having rendered the latter an object of suspicion, his papers were examined,

and proofs being found to substantiate his guilt, he was condemned to the gallows by a military tribunal.' pp. 422—424.

It contributed materially to the successes of Gustavus, that he was opposed in the first instance by an officer of inferior talents; and the conduct of Austria in making such a selection, seems unaccountable. Had Tilly, instead of wasting himself in a war of detail in the interior of Germany, marched at once to encounter the king of Sweden, it appears not improbable that a different result might have taken place. The time and opportunities thus lost, were never afterwards recovered. Gustavus increased his army, concluded a treaty of subsidy with France, January 23, 1631, and on the 14th April, carried Frankfort on the Oder by assault. The Protestant States began to put themselves in motion; they assembled at Leipsic under the auspices of the Elector of Saxony, who seems to have aimed at the establishment of an independent party, over which he should himself preside. Their first step was to negotiate with the Emperor; but as this was ineffectual, they resolved to arm. In the mean time, Gustavus was advancing slowly, but surely. He determined the elector of Brandenburg to put him in possession of Spandau; and was preparing to move forward to the relief of Magdeburg, when he was met by the intelligence of its fall. This city had been the first to declare for Gustavus; and, soon after the storming of Frankfort, was invested by Tilly, who now gratified his remorseless and revengeful character, by letting loose upon the miserable inhabitants all the plagues of military visitation. This calamitous event placed the King of Sweden in a situation of great difficulty, from which he extricated himself by firmness and decision. The impolitic imperiousness of Ferdinand, forced the Elector of Saxony to make common cause with Gustavus, and the result of their union was the battle of Leipsic, gained by the genius of the Swedish monarch, and the valour of his soldiers, over the ablest tactician of the age. Tilly, notwithstanding the insinuations to the contrary, seems to us to have displayed great ability; but his antagonist had new-modelled his system, and the heavy movements and unmanageable masses of Alva and Spinola, failed before the more rapid manœuvres and the more correct science of the Swedish tactics. Gustavus, like Hannibal in Italy, has been reproached for not advancing immediately on his enemy's capital. It would seem, however, that he acted wisely in declining so hazardous an enterprise: *double or quit*, is the hazard of the losing, not the winning side. A more injurious error was committed by the King, in rejecting the overtures of Wallenstein, who offered, on certain conditions, to join the Swedes against Austria; and, on the rejection of those conditions, raised an army for the service of Ferdinand. During these transactions, Gustavus did not relax his efforts in

the field; he directed his march towards Bavaria, routed the Imperialists at the celebrated passage of the Lech, where Tilly was mortally wounded, and entered Munich in triumph. Wallenstein at length entered upon action, drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, joined the Bavarians, came in contact with Gustavus at Nuremberg, and finally engaged him at Lutzen. Of this illustrious battle and its attendant circumstances, a distinct narrative is given by Mr. Naylor. Its gain was dearly purchased by the Swedes at the expense of the life of their gallant monarch, who fell, as it appears, not in the fair hazard of battle, but by the hand, or at least by the machinations, of an assassin.

The following passage contains Mr. N.'s summary of his character.

‘He was eminently pious without bigotry or fanaticism; humane without weakness; firm without obstinacy; and far more careful of the lives of his soldiers than attentive to his own preservation. In the moment of victory he was just and compassionate, never forgetting the weakness and imperfection of man's brightest endowments, and most extensive power, when compared with the wisdom and omnipotence of the Almighty. And, though he unquestionably ranks high among the most enlightened statesmen of modern Europe, he enjoys the singular, and perhaps unexampled glory, of having never subjected his unblemished reputation to the suspicion of treachery or deceit.’ p. 773.

In common times, and under common circumstances, the loss of its accomplished chief must have been fatal to the Protestant Confederacy; but Gustavus had trained up a race of officers scarcely inferior to himself in military science, and his Chancellor, Oxenstiern, was a man fully capable of following up the political plans of his master to a successful termination. It is impossible for us to enter at large into the various detail of the succeeding scenes. The intrigues of France, the conspiracy and assassination of Wallenstein, the brilliant valour of the Swedes, the changing fortunes of the campaigns, are all narrated with sufficient clearness on the whole, though, towards the close, with somewhat too much brevity.

However heavily the calamitous effects of the thirty years' war might fall on Germany, it terminated in a treaty which settled her liberties on a sure foundation. The purchase was dreadful, but it was amply repaid by the result.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. III. *A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the West Indies*; including a Refutation of the Charges in Mr. Marryat's "Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, &c." and in other Publications; with Facts and Anecdotes illustrative of the Moral State of the Slaves, and of the operation of Missions. By Richard Watson, one of the Secretaries to the Committee for the Management of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions. 8vo. pp. 163. Price 3s. 6d. Blanshard. 1817.

THERE is a class of men, whom no vigour of reasoning can move, and no plea of sensibility can subdue. The world to come, is not a world that they can see. They have but one species of vision, and the utmost extent of the field by which that solitary faculty is bounded, is comprised in one little circle—self. Over this verge there is not a single object, whether natural, moral, or political, that swells beyond Lilliputian insignificance; not one that could produce a momentary inattention to the glitter or a momentary vacillation to the impulse of the potent agents *within* that magic circle. There, every object is magnificent and commanding, and speaks with the voice of a God; but without that little circumference, to their eye all is impotency. To a lamentable extent, it must be admitted, the world is made up of such diminutive circles. So much so, that we apprehend every man who has had any considerable experience of the world, will acknowledge that the attempt to convince the interested, the prejudiced, and the bigoted, by higher and nobler considerations than they have ever felt, is nearly as hopeless an effort as to introduce a larger circle within the circumference of a smaller. This is too much to expect even from the ample details and powerful arguments of the pamphlet before us.

We consider the understandings of the individuals for whom it is intended, as placed in peculiarly unfortunate circumstances for the consideration of the very important and solemn questions involved in the controversy; and, indeed, if we are to judge from the specimens before the public, we should infer that they are oppressed by a total incapacity to sympathize with either the sublimity or the magnitude of those considerations with which this subject is surrounded. Were they yet open to the influence of reasoning the most correct and weighty, or could they feel only one chord in their constitution vibrating to the secret but mighty touch of pity, or could they but recognise the authoritative voice of eternal justice, or had they but intelligence to comprehend the first and simplest lessons of Divine benevolence, we should cherish the gratifying hope that full conviction would be forced upon them, however unacceptably, by this able advocate, and that an eternal cessation of hostilities against the cause of humanity, of benevolence, of religion, and

of justice, would be the consequence. Yet, should the great body of West India proprietors still be found the practical, though not the avowed enemies of justice, of reason, and of piety, there is one consideration which would help to sustain that hope by which our tenderest sympathies will, we trust, continue both vigorous and alert.

‘A work of so much mercy cannot be placed under the protection of the public sentiment of the people in this country in vain: nor will the Parliament of Great Britain allow undertakings so dear to humanity and piety, to be obstructed by calumny and clamour. The appeal which, when the bodily wrongs only of the sons of Africa were in question, roused every feeling of humane interest in the Parliament and people of Great Britain, will not be less powerful, when connected with the immortal interests of the mind, and the solemnities of Eternity:—*Am I not a man and a brother?*’ p. 161.

That there should be men who can persuade themselves, and endeavour to persuade others, that they really disbelieve Christianity, in despite of all the distinct evidences by which its claims are enforced, when the individuals themselves have really never considered those evidences at all, would be amusing, were not the consequences of the disbelief too awful to allow of such a feeling; and it would be a matter of grave astonishment, when viewed with respect to their rationality, were we not previously informed, that the true cause of this hostility is a prior hostility on the part of Christianity against the predominant passions of the human heart. There are secret and powerful reasons which induce a wicked man, *à priori*, to wish he may find Christianity untrue. But such cases do no credit to the cause with which they are associated, and no discredit to the principles of that religion by which such opposition is excited. The element of that religion is obviously too pure and too celestial for *them*, and we know the rest. That there should be persons capable of extenuating the enormous guilt of the system of the West Indian slavery, and incapable of discerning the justice, or the policy, or the charity, which singly and unitedly demand the melioration of the state of those unhappy beings, labouring under the twofold wretchedness of corporeal and mental bondage, we cease to wonder when we recollect the sentiment of the heathen poet:

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?

and the sentiment of far higher authority, “The love of money “is the root of all evil.”—But that there should be men professing to admit both the truth of Christianity and the immortality of the African slave, the moral wretchedness of the slave population of the West India Islands, and the immense importance of religious instruction, and above all, and what we could hardly have expected, the obligations of Christians to impart the truths

of their religion, who yet inveigh bitterly and strenuously, and with a zeal worthy of a better cause, against the humble efforts of a class of benevolent Christians whose place cannot be supplied, nor their labours superseded by the more authoritative sect, must we confess remain with us, on every principle of reason, and justice, and religion, for ought we see, (and we are far enough from feeling entire complacency in the system of the Wesleyan Methodists,) a matter of grievous astonishment; yet not of astonishment only. The absurdity in point of reason, the contradiction in point of acknowledged principle, the impolicy in regard to secular interest, and the tremendous guilt in point of moral responsibility, involved in the conduct of the *anti-mission* party, we must do our effort briefly to display, from this excellent pamphlet, for the information of the British public, and for the conviction, if that were in any degree a hopeful object, of all West India gentlemen. There is a revolting absurdity in admitting the moral necessities of the slave, and rejecting the only supply which is offered to meet those necessities. It is to reject food because it is not of the finest and choicest quality, and because it is neither cooked nor served up in the most elegant and fashionable style. The opposers of East India Missions had a greater semblance of reason on their side,—we beg pardon, we ought rather to say, a less glaring absurdity. They never went the length of concession to which the *anti-mission* party in the West Indies have been led. Their artifices and argument were less refined and subtle. They boldly and at once attempted, both in and out of Parliament, though to be sure by several rather ill-fated efforts, to establish the *innocence*, and if we did not mistake several memorable speakers and writers, laboured to prove the *superiority* of Hindoo superstitions over *all others**. Their experience (and many of them had lived long in India) had by no means convinced them of the necessity of imparting Christianity to a people whose morality was affirmed to be equal to our own, their piety superior, and their shasters all but as good. All this looked like argument; at least it presented widely different grounds, and demanded first of all that the opponents in that contest should be convinced of the Divine authority of the Christian Revelation. But our West Indian opponents do not pretend to resist the cause of missions on such grounds.

They own the Africans are vicious, so much so as to require sometimes the infliction of very summary punishment†, and to

* In such a connexion the term *superstition* means the same as in Hume's History of Great Britain. R.

† See "West Indian Sketches," No. 1, 3, and 5. Also "Dr. Pinkard's Notes on the West Indies."

justify universal and almost incessant flagellation, and that not of the most gentle kind, extorted from the reluctant hand of the compassionate proprietors. They readily acknowledge the extreme ignorance of the slaves, even of the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state; their proneness to Obeah, or sorcery of the most hateful description, the prevalence of drunkenness, promiscuous cohabitation, and cruelty, and their disposition to revolt. These, as Mr. Watson sufficiently shews, are the leading features of their character, where the Missionaries have not been able to extend their influence, or where their laudable exertions have been resisted and counteracted. Yet the effort to instruct them in the knowledge of God, to impart to them the Bible and books of wholesome knowledge, to elevate their habits into something like human, and their minds into a state a little more resembling moral beings, to open their path to an equality of intellectual and religious privilege and enjoyment with the Whites, provokes, how absurdly let the candid of all denominations judge, the heavy displeasure and the cruel resentment of nearly all the proprietors and public functionaries in almost all the islands. Of this the details in the pamphlet before us, afford but too conclusive evidence.

“It is readily granted,” says Mr. W. “that in some of the colonies not only have no persecuting laws ever been enacted against the Wesleyan Missionaries, but they have been greatly encouraged, not only by many planters, but by the local Governments. Antigua, Nevis, St. Christopher’s, and some others, are among these exceptions; but what do they prove, except that the persecutions directed against the Missionaries, (the same not merely in sect and doctrine, but in some instances the same identically) in other islands, were the result of prejudice and religious intolerance alone, and can find no justification in the conduct of the sufferers, whose doctrine and manner of life could surely be as well estimated in Antigua, Nevis and, St. Christopher’s, as in Jamaica, St. Vincent’s, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Tortola” p. 74.

After referring to a number of iniquitous and persecuting laws enacted in several of the Islands, Mr. Watson says,

‘Where no persecuting laws have existed, they (the Missionaries) have often been attacked by mobs, *chiefly of whites*, or those under their immediate control, and in many cases without being able to obtain redress from the colonial magistracy. In Barbadoes the only redress that could be obtained in a case of riot, and an attempt to pull down the chapel, was an observation from a Magistrate, that, “*the offence was committed against Almighty God, and therefore he could take no cognizance of it.*” The most violent, and in some instances very singular means have been resorted to to obstruct their labours. Of the latter kind was the stratagem devised in Barbadoes, to operate on the superstition of the lower classes, who were informed, that in

case they went to the Methodist chapel, " *they should not be buried in the church yard* "

' Among the former we regret to rank, the punishment of slaves for the crime of listening to the only men who would instruct them in the way to heaven.' pp. 76—77.

We subjoin the statement of several of the Missionaries themselves. The deep interest it will excite in the breast of our readers, for these excellent men, will be a sufficient apology for so long an extract. It is only a specimen of much more of the same description contained in Mr. W.'s pamphlet; and we believe, upon good grounds, by no means a full display of the atrocities committed upon the Missionaries.

' In Tortola, Spanish Town, and all the group of little Keys or Islands from Anagedo to Jost Van Dykes, there was not one Church nor any place of worship of any kind, except the Methodist chapel: nor did any clergyman perform divine service the greater part of the time I was there. I mentioned this circumstance in a letter to the Committee for our Missions. The letter was published in the Magazine for August, 1815.

' A Devonshire clergyman, whose son went down in the same packet with me to Tortola, saw the printed letter, and sent an extract of it to his son. The extract was this, " I find religion has made a great alteration for the better among the blacks, but among the whites fornication, adultery, and neglect of all religion, are reigning sins." In consequence of this, a magistrate, the clergyman's son, and two more fell upon me in the open street, beat me unmercifully, and laid open my head with the butt end of a whip; they would certainly have killed me that day, but Providence by a little circumstance preserved me; and I carried my life in my hand for many weeks after. I brought this cause regularly before the court of Grand Sessions; but, though it was done in the street in the open day, yet the grand jury could find no bill, and I was obliged to pay half the cost, for bringing a matter frivolous and vexatious before the court. But they asked and obtained leave of the judge to present me, and though they had no other evidence than the extract of a written letter, they soon found a bill, and I was put to the bar, and tried for writing a libel on the community. The facts were acknowledged to be true, but then, the said truth was a libel. Not being ready for trial they endeavoured to postpone it, and to throw me into prison until the next sessions: but this being over-ruled, the indictment was quashed.—The magistrate who assaulted me *sat on the bench.*"

(Signed) MR. BROWNELL.

" When I was at St. Vincent's, U. H. Esq. a magistrate and one of the members of council for the Island, was celebrating St. Patrick's day with other gentlemen of the Island. I was informed afterwards that they had intended committing the depredations I am going to relate, before the light appeared; but in this they were disappointed, for they did not arrive till about sun-rise. Then this gentleman headed some officers of the Buffs, (a regiment then at St. Vincent's) with other gentlemen of the Island, and accompanied by the band of that regiment, came down to our chapel. The first thing they

did was to throw down a high rail fence near the road, which stood between the chapel and our dwelling house, about fifty or sixty feet long—they then broke open the outer gate that led to the chapel door: this door they also broke open, and entered the chapel in triumph. They then broke nearly all the lamps, tore down the communion rails, took the holy bible, and tore it to pieces, and strewed it on the floor. The band then struck up, and after dancing and shouting like men that had found great spoil, they left the chapel, and passed my door where I was standing. Mr H—, *the magistrate*, said to me, with a shrug, and a most sarcastic smile, “Sir, I came here to keep the peace.” The confederates then vociferated and awfully blasphemed and declared, that if I said a word, they would take me to the market, and give me a dreadful cart whipping. I made application to the governor for redress; he came to town the same day, and called the council together; after their deliberation, his excellency, in his way to the fort, called at my door and said, “Well, Sir, what damage have these St. Patrick Boys done you?” And when I had replied, his excellency said that he would take care it should not happen again; and for a year no persecution of any consequence took place; but when the celebration of St. Patrick’s day arrived, I felt apprehensive that the gentlemen might pay us another visit. I therefore told Mr. Hallet, who was with me as my fellow labourer, that we had better sleep at Mrs. Mitchell’s, one of our friends, who lived a little distance from the chapel; he consented, and it was providential that we took this precaution. For in the dead of the night some persons broke open our dwelling house and entered it; and as they were armed with swords or cutlasses, they struck about in the dark, no doubt intending to have struck us, but instead of that they cut the furniture in the house, which bears to this day the marks of their violence. They went into the bed chambers, turned up the beds, and apparently searched for us under them, and in every part of the house; but we were not there, or in all probability we should have been murdered. Mrs. M. hearing the noise, came out of her house, and one of the ruffians struck her with a bludgeon on the side of her face. Whether the gentleman above mentioned headed this party also, the day of judgement will make manifest.’ pp. 80, 81.

(Signed) MR. PATTISON.

What then, we would ask, becomes of the professions and declarations of West India gentlemen, in the face of such facts as these, which, indeed, are a specimen of the general treatment of Missionaries? Most of the opposers of the Missions, are gentlemen professing to believe in the supreme excellence and paramount claims of Christianity; they have themselves received a Christian education, and go out under the protection and control of a Christian government. How great is the absurdity with which they stand chargeable: To say Christianity is a most excellent religion and we ought to propagate it, and yet, lest it should produce a sense of moral equality, a correct view of the principles of natural justice, lest it should excite a

love of liberty and the hope of happiness, lest it should endanger the insolent and avaricious usurpation by which the slave is held, they endeavour *legally* to prohibit its approach, and would fain imprison every miscreant philanthropist, that should make the perilous attempt to impart that religion to the African bondman.

Let our readers but mark the endless contradictions and absurdities of the *anti-Mission* party. They supremely love Christianity, and that teaches them to love their neighbour as themselves, but they do nothing for their wretched dependents; rather do they impede and resist the efforts of others for their melioration. They profess to be of the Church of England, but they have never exerted themselves to obtain Missionaries of that Church; and when the late Bishop of London sent Episcopal Missionaries, they manifested the same opposition to them, and actually prevented them from entering on efficient labours. They *say* they have no desire to prevent the instruction of the negroes, yet when it is attempted by the voluntary efforts of benevolent individuals, they exert every nerve to impede and even to persecute them.

Where then, we ask in the face of the world, is their consistency? Let them show at once that they are sincere in their professions, by providing means for the instruction of their negroes which shall supersede the exertions of the Wesleyans, or else let them throw off the mask and manfully avow their opposition to negro melioration, and their disbelief of the doctrines and precepts of the Christian revelation. The secular impolicy of obstructing the religious improvement of the negroes, is another point on which we conceive there are very ample documents before the public. The pamphlet of Mr. Watson adduces additional evidence. Irrespective of what we are sure must be the effects of religious instruction in the habits and feelings of the Africans, upon which we are unwilling to enter, because they are the genuine effects of true religion every where, we shall briefly advert to the testimonies of individuals who speak to the fact.

‘ Amongst the many unspeakable advantages which have resulted from the missions in the West Indies, a very evident one appears at the season of Christmas. At this period, the negroes in general have some time allowed them for holydays. They have also a certain portion of provision allotted. It is well known, that thirty years ago, they used to spend their time at the festival, in gluttony, drunkenness, quarrelling, fighting, dancing and carousing, and in general very much mischief was done by them. The Island of Nevis, for instance, may serve as a specimen. This is the native place of Mrs. Dace, and she can well remember, that if the managers did not deal out the Christmas allowance to please the slaves, they, out of resentment, would do any mischief to the estates which lay in their way.

Sometimes they would go and set fire to a whole piece, or track of sugar canes, so that the greater part would be destroyed before the flames could be quenched. Sometimes the poor cattle would suffer either by being maimed or killed. The gentlemen of the Island were under the necessity, therefore, at this season, of forming themselves into an armed body; their place of rendezvous was the church, and while a part stood on guard there, the rest formed into parties, and travelled in different circuits, through and round their respective estates. This was done in the night to prevent mischief, overawe the negroes, and preserve their own lives and property. My wife's father used to make one of these parties, and I have heard the inhabitants relate the same things. At Tortola also I have heard some of our old leaders and members, and several of the white inhabitants say, that it certainly was a happy day when the methodist missionaries arrived there; for before, many both of the coloured and white inhabitants used to dread the approach of Christmas, among the slaves: there was then so much rioting, obeah (a kind of witchcraft) cruelty and wickedness. All old grudges were sure to be remembered and repaid then, and very often murder was committed. —But how very different is the case now! No guard is kept in Nevis at all on the Christmas festival; nor has been kept for a great many years.' p. 121-2.

We consider the preceding extract, as exhibiting one very striking view of the benefit of those exertions which have been made for the improvement of the slaves; we should be happy to make some remarks upon the fact, but we are induced to waive these for the sake of introducing several other statements from Mr. W.'s pamphlet, of a still more satisfactory nature, and of a widely different class.

'The Clergy, though not in general personally active in negro instructions, have given proofs that they are not opposed to the efforts made for that purpose, and that they apprehend no danger from them. It has not been an unusual thing for the slaves to be members of the Methodist Societies by their wish or consent. The Rector of Kingston gave 10l. 13s. 4d. currency, towards the chapel in that city; and on another occasion 20l. towards the Morant Bay chapel. The Rector of Morant Bay also gave 10l. towards the chapel in that place; and when a collection was made in the chapel at Kingston, a little before the persecuting law of 1807, for the purpose of affording aid to the building of Morant Bay, many respectable ladies and gentlemen of the city were present, who put into the box some joes and others *doubloons*, making in the whole a collection of 74l. In other islands, not merely planters and merchants, but members of colonial assemblies, presidents, chief judges, and governors, have not only subscribed to the erection of chapels, but in some instances have paid regular stipends to the missionaries as a remuneration for their labours in instructing their slaves, and in many instances have done what was of more essential service, have counteracted the designs of wicked and unreasonable men, who attempted to stir up persecution, for which no pretence but intolerance or misinformation could be set up.' p. 126.

‘ The following is a copy of an original document :

‘ The voluntary donation of the gentlemen planters for encouraging the propagation of Christianity among their slaves, of the island aforesaid, (Nevis.)—Whereas the preachers of the people, called Methodists, have for several years past visited our estates, and the estates we are attornies for in the island of Nevis, for the benevolent purpose of instructing our negro slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, and thereby endeavouring to produce a reformation in their principles and lives : and being convinced of the necessity of such reformation, and having reason to believe the said preachers are desirous to accomplish the same, as is manifest by their constant labours for the above purposes,

‘ We, therefore, the undersigned, cheerfully, and voluntarily come forward in so good a cause, earnestly wishing that the same may be *further extended*, do agree to pay yearly from the date hereof, unto the said preacher or preachers, for the time being, the respective sums annexed to our names in cash, or an equivalent sum in produce, on condition, that the said preacher or preachers, for the time being, shall attend to perform divine service on our estates specified, and those we are attornies for, once a fortnight at least, or oftener, as shall seem meet and convenient to themselves.’ p. 127.

‘ One of the planters of Antigua thus addressed a missionary : “ Mr. Warrenner, I suppose you have been preaching on some of the estates to the negroes.” I told him I had been preaching on a certain estate. He replied, *We planters* are much obliged to you, Mr. Baxter and the Moravians. I asked him if he thought so in reality. He said, had you been here 20 years ago, and witnessed the severe castigations which were necessarily inflicted on the slaves to restrain their vicious habits, you would not have doubted my sincerity in what I have now spoken. Our negroes are now twenty times better servants, and consequently need not one twentieth part of their former punishment.’ p. 127.

It is not a little remarkable, that in rebellions and insurrections, the religious negroes are among the first to be entrusted by the Government with arms, and have uniformly manifested a peaceable and orderly disposition. It is the recorded testimony of all the Missionaries, that they never knew one in their societies concerned in seditious and riotous meetings, and they challenge their opponents to produce a single case. With regard to one individual, a missionary, brought forward by Mr. Marryat, the pamphlet before us most triumphantly refutes every charge.

We must not, however, dismiss this interesting subject, without noticing the highest and most solemn consideration involved in the whole discussion ; it is the appalling guilt incurred by those proprietors and public officers who resist or prohibit the religious instruction of the slaves. When a planter purchases an estate, with all the human, as well as the brute stock, he becomes, in the sight of God, the protector, the father of those unhappy creatures, whom he finds in a state of entire ignorance

and dependence. His relation to them, under this view, involves moral duties, which he may no more neglect, without guilt, than he may neglect the education and protection of his own family; for these are nature's orphan children—the helpless foundlings, which an inscrutable and mysterious Providence has cast at his door, and let him shut his ear to their cry, at his peril, that piercing cry of moral distress which should move him the more from its nearness, and from its being uttered by creatures who, as it regards their bondage both of body and mind, are innocent sufferers.

What is there so withering in the atmosphere of the West Indies, to all the moral sensibilities of Englishmen, that, after having recognised at home, over and over again, the claims of the ignorant, the dependent, and the wretched, no tie of moral obligation, no sense of duty to the poor, degraded, and vicious savages dwelling on their estates, and toiling for their interest, should impel them to a single effort for the alleviation of his wretchedness? Is there really any thing in a black skin, that can subdue and utterly annihilate every degree of moral sympathy with him who wears it? Is the planter conscious of no sense of duty to these his abject dependents, when he assumes over them that most comprehensive right of mastership and proprietor? If he can answer, or if his disposition inclines him to answer in the negative, we then must confess ourselves utterly incapable of conceiving how he contemplates the character of his Creator, with what feelings he anticipates the moment of his dissolution, and in what light he regards that account of his stewardship which he will be called to render.

We most cordially recommend Mr. Watson's pamphlet to the perusal of all our readers, and to the attention of all persons interested in the improvement of the slave population in the West Indies.

Art. IV. *The History of Muhammedanism*: comprising the Life and Character of the Arabian Prophet, and Succinct Accounts of the Empires founded by the Muhammedan Arms; an Inquiry into the Theological, Moral, and Juridical Codes of the Muselmans, and the Literature and Sciences of the Saracens and Turks; with a View of the present Extent and Influence of the Muhammedan Religion. 8vo. pp. 429. Price 12s. Black, Parbury, and Co. London, 1817.

IN all senses of the word, the history of Muhammedanism constitutes an interesting portion of the annals of the world. Every thing is important which operates upon the condition of a vast portion of the human race; every thing is important which displays the more remarkable phenomena of the human mind.

Of those parts of the general history of mankind, which are

not sufficiently cultivated in this country, which are not sufficiently familiar to the ordinary reader, and rarely form a topic of conversation in the companies of well-educated persons, the history of Muhammedanism is undoubtedly one. This is deeply to be regretted; for though it is certainly more agreeable to read the history of a people whose stage of civilization, whose religion, politics, and manners most nearly resemble our own, and though it may be, all things considered, more instructive too, yet much information of the most valuable kind is to be derived from making ourselves familiar with people who are different from ourselves. It helps to deliver us from a blind, obstinate adherence to that, whether right or wrong, to which we ourselves have been accustomed, and on which our habits have been formed, whether in the field of thought, or the field of action. This blind and obstinate adherence, is one of the circumstances which most remarkably characterize the savage; and is found of less and less power and predominance, as a principle of action, exactly in proportion as men recede further and further from the savage condition of life. The savage believes that nothing whatsoever is good, either in thought or in action, but that which he himself has been accustomed to think and to do; he treats the thoughts and actions of all other men with contempt, and regards the very idea of a change with supreme detestation. The barbarian, the rude and uncivilized inhabitant of every clime, approaches, in this respect, to the prejudices of the savage. Even in the most cultivated ages and nations, the minds of those who are but little enlightened, the minds which remain contracted for want of ideas, the minds which remain stiff for want of exercise, the minds which are afraid to judge, for want of practice in judging, retain a great degree of the propensity of the savage; they take the habits, which they themselves have formed, as the laws, not of 'a second nature,' but of the first nature; not of a factitious nature grafted upon the first by the operation of circumstances, but the original nature which they brought with them into the world, which is common to them with all the rest of their species, and which they cannot change. The men of this sort, who are very numerous even in our own age and nation, are in general the enemies of all improvement, and cruelly and fatally resist the progress of mind. All imperfections are, in their eyes, converted into perfections, provided they exist; or at any rate, provided they have had a long existence.

The state of mind from which these unhappy consequences are derived, receives the most salutary impressions from contemplating systems of ideas, manners and institutions, different from those on which it has itself been formed. These salutary

impressions are made, not only when the mind contemplates systems of ideas, manners, and institutions superior, but also when it contemplates systems inferior to those by which its own habits have been determined. The immediate consequence of familiarizing the mind with other states of human nature than one's own, is so far to draw a line of distinction between what is essential to that nature and what is accidental to it. Comparisons are formed; and in order to form comparisons between the modes of thinking and acting in other countries, and those in one's own country, consequences must be traced. When consequences are duly traced, useful information is always gained. When it is found that the institutions existing in one's own country, or the ideas and practices which prevail in it, produce consequences of one sort, the institutions, ideas, and practices, of another country, produce consequences of another sort, the points on which good consequences depend, are gradually distinguished from the points which are indifferent, or which are productive of evil. And when the line of distinction between these different points is fully and accurately drawn, every kind of right conclusion, both speculative and practical, springs up easily, and becomes vigorous in the human mind.

That the history of Muhammedanism, with that of other systems, different from our own, rendered familiar to the minds of the people of this country, would contribute largely to the production of these desirable effects, we cannot have a shadow of doubt. We therefore conceive that the design of the present work is worthy of peculiar approbation. The Author proposes to give a popular, and therefore a succinct account, both of what Muhammedanism is in itself, considered as a religious, moral and political system, and also of the historical facts with which it has been attended, the circumstances in which it originated; the mode in which it was propagated, the extent to which it was carried, and the effects which it produced. We shall now endeavour to present a short account of the manner in which he has executed his task.

First of all, he presents to us a narrative of the principal incidents in the life of the Arabian *pseudo-Prophet*. On the foundation which was laid by him, arose a mighty empire. For a certain period of time, this empire stood united, and its magnitude and power continually increased. Of this period our Author treats, under the title of "The undivided Caliphate, or the history of the rise of the Saracenian empire." After a time, this empire broke into several parts. Of this the writer treats, under the title of "The divided Caliphate, or the history of the Decline and Fall of the Saracenian empire." Having advanced thus far in the statement of facts, the Author proceeds to one of the important inquiries which

are connected with these facts, and presents us a "Dissertation on the causes of the success of the Muhammedan arms and religion." Beside those empires which sustained the sceptre of the actual descendants of the Prophet, there were other empires which in process of time accepted or endured the religion and laws of Muhammed, while they remained subject to princes of a different race. These Mr. Mills exhibits under the title of "The History of the Muhammedan-Tartarian empires." So much for the account of the facts which attended the origin and progress of Muhammedanism. The Author next proceeds to place before us a delineation of what Muhammedanism is in itself. Of this he treats under two titles; first, "The Koran; or, the Theological, Moral, and Juridical Code of the Muselmans.—Muhammedan Sects;" and secondly, "The Literature and Science of the Saracens and Turks." He closes the work with an account of "The present State and Extent of the Muhammedan religion."

It will be allowed, that all this comprehends a very complete view of the subject; and that, were this outline filled up, little would be wanting to a perfect knowledge of this important branch of the history of human nature, and of the human race. It must also be allowed, that the matter is by no means unskillfully distributed. That part of the information relative to this subject, which the mind first requires, is no doubt an account of the rise and progress of the system; because it is chiefly a knowledge of the extent to which it has pervaded the earth, and to which it has influenced, or now influences, the condition of human beings, that can excite a curiosity to know what it is. It is, of course, after a knowledge that it has extended very widely, that any inquiry can arise respecting the cause of that extension. Of the order into which Mr. Mills has disposed the matter of his work, the only part about the goodness of which there can be any doubt, is the concluding chapter, the account of the present state and extent of the Muhammedan religion. The subject of this chapter, it may be said, is purely historical, and therefore it ought to have been arranged with the historical matter; that we ought not, as at present, to have received, first, historical matter, then, speculative matter, and next, historical matter again; but all the historical matter in the first place, and all the speculative matter in the second. It may, however, on the other side, be alleged, that the account of the present extent of the Muhammedan religion, is information rather statistical than historical; and is not improperly disjoined from the detail of the chronological facts which relate to the establishment of Muhammedanism and of the empire of the Caliphs on the surface of

the globe; that if it had been historical matter in a sense ever so pure, it would not follow that an arrangement was bad, which gave one part of it before the speculative elucidation, another part of it after; because the first part might be necessary to the elucidation of the speculative matter, and the speculative matter might be necessary to the elucidation of the last, in which case, instead of preserving a verbal uniformity at the expense of substantial advantage, substantial advantage would be cultivated, as it always ought to be, at the expense of the verbal or technical formality.

In the present case, however, the speculative matter was of no use for the statement of that which is made to come after it; and that which was made to come after it, though not strictly historical matter, might with some propriety have been so disposed as to leave the whole of the speculative to come at the end. There would have been more of simplicity, more of the appearance of a regular structure, more of logical precision, under that arrangement, than under the one which has been actually employed.

A few details will shew the manner in which our Author fills up, under the several heads, the outline which we have thus despatched.

I. In the life of Muhammed, after a description of the land of his birth and exploits, and after an account of the previous state of the inhabitants, their religion, their politics, and government, we have an account of the incidents which preceded the time of his declaring himself a prophet, the family of Muhammed, his birth, early youth, and marriage with Kadijah. It is at this part, also, that the Author gives us, in a note, an account of the various written lives of Muhammed. As the account is pretty complete, and may be highly useful to those who would enter upon the exploration of this interesting field, we are induced to transcribe it.

‘ Gagnier, *vie de Mahomet, traduite et compilée de l’Alcoran; des traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs auteurs Arabes.* Amsterdam, 2 tom. 8vo. introd. part 2. et livre 1. chap. 1. All the Arabian and Persian MSS. on the history of the Saracens, contain accounts of Muhammed. None of them are of great antiquity. The industry of D’Herbelot discovered and used the Saracenian histories by Novari and Mircond, writers of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hegira. These books formed the basis of the article Muhammed in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. The best Life in Arabic of Muhammed that has yet been discovered, is by Abulfeda, a contemporary writer with Novari, and who was an Emir at Hamah in Syria. Abulfeda is a judicious and candid writer; his work bears internal testimony of truth. Pocock (from whom it is not often safe to differ) gives him unqualified praise—See Pocock’s Preface to his translation of *Abul-Pharajius*. About the commence-

ment of the last century, Abulfeda was translated into Latin, and illustrated by valuable notes, by John Gagnier, the Arabic professor at Oxford; a Frenchman by birth, of a Calvinistic family. See *Dic. Hist. Lyons*. 1804. Gagnier also published a *Life of Muhammed*, the basis of which was a book by Al-Jannabi, a writer of the sixteenth century of our æra. Al-Jannabi, and the other writers who contributed to this latter work of Gagnier, disgust the reader by their fables. Of the lives of Muhammed compiled from various authors, and not mere translations from one manuscript, that of Savary is the best. It will not be easy to apportion the quantum of demerit in Prideaux and Maracci. Savary is sensible mild, and impartial; Maracci is violent, Prideaux is dull, and both are always prejudiced. There is a well written paper on the establishment of the religion and empire of Muhammed, by M. Brequigny, in the 32d volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*. From the translations by Gagnier, from Savary's *Life*, and from M. Brequigny's *Paper*, with occasional references to D'Herbelot, and to Gibbon, (the latter of whom seems in his remarks on Muhammed always to have Savary in view) the following sketch of the life of Muhammed has been drawn.' pp. 9, 10.

The marriage of Muhammed was the source of all his greatness. Nursed in poverty, and trained up to early manhood in obscurity, he became a factor to Kadijah, the widow of a rich trader. The person as well as the services of the young factor became, in a little time, agreeable to the widow. She conferred upon his merits her person and her fortune, and 'raised Muhammed to an equality with the proudest merchants of Mecca.' Muhammed was not ungrateful. So long as she lived, she remained his only wife; and after she was dead, when Ayesha, with all the haughty insolence of a blooming beauty, asked, 'Was not Kadijah old, and has not God given you a better in her place?—No, exclaimed Muhammed, there never was a kinder or better woman. She trusted in me, when men mocked at and despised me: she relieved my wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world: She was all devotion to my cause.'

The state of mind out of which the fanaticism of Muhammed proceeded, (for he was in part an enthusiast, as well as an impostor,) is not unskillfully described by Mr. Mills.

'His youth had been always remarkable for a serious deportment, and for strict attention to devotional exercises; and so general was the reputation of his piety, that on the finding in the well Zemnen, of the black stone, which, it is said, the angel Gabriel brought to Abraham, when he built the Caaba, the people unanimously declared, that the grandson of Abdol-Motaleb alone was worthy of the honour of replacing it in its station. In a life of leisure and independence, he indulged the fancies of his genius, and every year in the month of Ramadan, he retired for the purposes of fasting, of prayer, and meditation, to the cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca. His charity,

his frugality, procured for him universal respect, and these periodical retreats exalted the feelings of the Arabians into veneration. This mode of life could not fail to increase the fanaticism of an imagination naturally sanguine. The ardour of his enthusiasm, nourished for fifteen years by pious practices and solitary meditation, prompted him to proclaim himself a prophet, sent by heaven to preach the unity of the Godhead, and to restore to its purity the religion of Abraham and Ishmael.

‘ A pretended intercourse with the deity is the surest proof of fanaticism. When the year of his mission was come, his family accompanied him to the place of his retirement. In the night, he affirmed, that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, and had proclaimed him to be the apostle of God. Kadajah declared, that he was the prophet of her nation, and her kinsman Waraka, son of Nawfali, recognized him as a messenger from heaven predicted by Moses. The infusing of the spirit of fanaticism into his wife, was followed by the conversion, though of suspicious sincerity, of his slave Zeid; and the youthful ardour of Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb, embraced with credulity the opinions of his friend and cousin. At the end of three years, Abubeker listened to the voice of reason or enthusiasm, and fourteen proselytes, among whom were six of the principal men of Mecca, admired the sublime simplicity of the creed of Muhammed. His pretensions were now developed; at an entertainment given by Ali to the family of Haschem, the prophet declared to his assembled friends, that it was in his power to bestow upon them the most precious of gifts, happiness in the present, and in a future life. “ The Almighty,” he continued, “ has commanded me to call you unto him. Who then among you will assist me to support my burthen? who among you will be my brother and my vizier?” The assembly held a silence of astonishment and contempt. But his cousin Ali, who had paused in expectation that some chief of the family would have embraced the offer with transport, frantically exclaimed, “ O Apostle of God, I am the man; and I will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the belly, and break the legs, of all that oppose you; I will be your vizier over them.” The prophet threw his arms round the neck of his fanatical proselyte, and blessed him as his brother, his ambassador, his deputy. In vain did Abu-Taleb, by exhortation and reproof, attempt to dissuade, or prohibit his son and his nephew, from a continuance in their enthusiastic folly. “ No,” said the fanatic Muhammed, “ though the sun were set against me on my right hand, and the moon on my left, I would not swerve from my course.” The venerable patriarch deplored the errors of his relatives, but resolved to protect their persons from the malice and animosity of his tribe.

‘ Having once declared himself a delegate from God, Muhammed was not of a disposition indolently or indifferently to await his acceptance or rejection by his countrymen. He laboured incessantly to convince them of the reality of his mission. In his public harangues upon the mysteries and duties of religion, he called upon them to renounce their idolatry, and to embrace the more pure,

simple, and reasonable belief of the unity of God. By the promise of a paradise, filled with gratifications of the senses and the imagination, he endeavoured to captivate the fancy of a people, attached, above all others, to the charms of women and nature.' His discourses on religion, formed, when collected, the body of that volume, distinguished by the appellation of the Koran.' pp. 10—14

' If there be a master-passion in every man, that passion in Muhammed was religious enthusiasm. It appeared in all his actions; it displayed itself in every stage of his existence; and it is to this disorder of the imagination, that the birth of Muhammedanism, like that of many other systems of error, may be attributed. In his youthful days, he was decent in his morals, pious, contemplative, and retired in disposition. From the age of twenty-five to forty, he industriously pursued his occupation of a merchant, and nursed his genius in solitude. He then started into public life, a wild and clamorous fanatic. One particular train of ideas had fixed his attention; silent speculation had ended in dreams of rapture; reason was lost in the wanderings of imagination, and the suggestions of fancy were mistaken for the inspirations of heaven. The first and sublime principle of his religion, the unity of the godhead, was preached by him with all the incoherence, and with all the assumption of authority from the Almighty, which distinguish fanatics of every religion. But intercourse with the world, the silent influence of time, and the occasional suggestions of reason, moderated his enthusiasm. In his transactions with his opponents, he now thought of *consequences*; and to accomplish the schemes which now opened on him, and in his endeavours at conversion, he disgraced the purity of his doctrines, and craftily accommodated himself to the passions and prejudices of his countrymen. With increasing success, his hopes expanded. The throne of his country was now the object of his desire, and ambitious views of conquest and of plunder added fresh ardour to his energies. Fanaticism, then, was the original and real character of Muhammed. He had ambition, it is true; for ambition is easily built upon fanaticism. These two powerful passions require nearly the same temper of soul. But, however violent ambition might have been in Muhammed, it was only an accessory passion, produced by circumstances, and which was also late in the developement.' pp. 34—36.

We cannot follow our Author through the details which he exhibits of the preaching of the Prophet, the progress of his faith, the persecution of him and of his religion by the Koreish, his flight from Mecca, his wars on the Koreish, on the Arabians, the Jews, the Romans, the Syrians. We must even leave to the curiosity of those who may peruse the book, what is added respecting his death and character, and the vulgar errors which have circulated, at least, in Europe, concerning this extraordinary man.

II. We proceed to the second part of the work before us; the history of the undivided Caliphate, or of the rise of the

Saracenian empire. This is chiefly valuable, as bringing into a narrow compass, the most useful portion of that which is generally presented to us, diffused over a great number of volumes. There is no part of history which can bear so much compression, as that of half civilized empires. The facts consist almost wholly of a series of wars and revolutions; which so much resemble one another, that after one or two are given as specimens, the rest may be passed over with a very slight record, adducing only the singular facts which are commonly few. This Author is not a master in the art of compression. He has epitomised, rather than condensed. But such as it is, the abridgement he has given will have its use. It leads the mind of the reader over the principal facts, and gives him at least the outline of the figure.

This chapter contains the history of the immediate successors of Muhammed, to the death of Ali and his sons; of the two dynasties, 1. of the Omniades, and 2. of the Abassides; and descends to the year of the Christian era 850, when the sway of the Caliphs extended from the confines of Tartary, beyond the Jaxartes, to the Pyrennees, and was only prevented by the resistance which Charles Martel was able to oppose to them in France, from over-running, it is probable, the whole or the greater part of Europe.

III. The third chapter of Mr. Mills's work, on the divided Caliphate, or the history of the decline and fall of the Saracenian empire, contains the history; 1. of the Caliphs of Spain; 2. of the Caliphs of Africa and Egypt; and 3. of the Caliphs of Bagdad. It comprehends a period of between 600 and 700 years, and comes down several years into the fourteenth century, when the empire of the Caliphs was broken to pieces. The statement which the Author presents of the *causes* of this great change in the state of the rulers of the earth, though not very profound, is far from being devoid of matter of instruction.

At the close of the first century of the Hegira, the Saracenian empire embraced the fairest and largest portion of the civilized globe, and for the next hundred years the power and influence of the Caliphs appeared to be undiminished. When the successors of the Prophet had been despoiled of Africa, of Egypt, and of Spain, their inheritance increased not in concentration of strength, by the loss of these distant provinces. In Arabia, the Caliphs had but little weight in temporal affairs. Perhaps in the very early days of the Caliphate, and certainly when the seat of government was removed from Medina to Damascus, the various princes of Arabia gradually procured their independence, and regarded the Caliphs merely as the chiefs of the Moslem religion. These dismemberments showed the weakness of the centre of the government, and the unwieldy

fabric was soon dissolved. For the preservation of the empire, the lieutenants of the provinces were invested with imperial command; but the degenerated state and remote situation of the royal family enabled them to make their governments hereditary, and to assume every thing except the name of kings. The revenues were detained under the pretence of keeping a force to defend the provinces against foreign enemies, when they were actually designed to to strengthen the rebellious viceroys against their lawful sovereigns. The Taherites, Saffarides, and the Samanides, successfully overthrew the power of each other, and of the Caliphs in Transoxiana and Korasan. The politician may censure Muhammed for not having formed a system of government as well as of conquest; but the reproach may be extended to the Macedonian hero and the Roman conquerors. The rise of the empire of the Romans was far less strikingly grand, than the rise of the power of the Saracens. Fraud, and every species of treachery, co-operated with the sword of the republicans. But by one great effort of arms, the world was compelled to acknowledge the might of the Commanders of the Faithful. When the Roman power reached its meridian, how few moments did it endure! Its fine machine of state was admirably adapted for the acquisition of empire, but not for its preservation. The philosopher smiles, however, at the folly of ambition; and points at the short duration of its splendid acquisitions, as a mockery of its value.

‘ In the primitive days of the Caliphate, the tribute which the Christians paid for the free profession of their religion, the spoils of war, and other sources of revenue, were appropriated by the Commanders of the Faithful to the erection of mosques, to the support of the aged or wounded warrior, and to purposes of charity. Ignorant of the arts of luxury and refinement, the desires of the Caliphs were few and confined; and like the early successors of Saint Peter in the West, their piety and benevolence obtained the admiration and reverence of the world. Water was their only drink, and barley bread, or dates, their food. The moderate Abubeker received a stipend of only three drachmas of gold from the treasury of Medina, and on the weekly return of the Sabbath, he distributed the residue of his own, and of the people’s money, among the most deserving Moslems; first to the soldiers, and then to the people. His coarse woollen garment (the Asiatic symbol of spiritual power) descended to Omar; and a courtier, seeing its tattered condition, observed to the New Commander of the Faithful, that the plainness of his exterior did not correspond with the dignity of his character. “Nay, my friend,” replied the lord of the east, with unaffected simplicity, or with a generous contempt of the pride of kings “the religion with which God has honoured me is the finest garb, the most magnificent ornament, and the most brilliant decoration.” This virtue soon was lost; and in proportion to the increase of the wealth and power of the Saracens, the splendour and magnificence of the courts of Persia and Greece, while they adorned, corrupted the cities of Damascus and Bagdad. The arts of peace slackened and enervated the hands of the government; and the luxurious Caliphs were ill capable of maintaining the submission of an extensive

empire. "The Caliph Moe'tadi's whole army, both horse and foot," says Abulfeda, "were under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state officers stood near him in the most splendid apparel, their belts shining with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand black and white eunuchs. The porters, or door keepers, were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were swimming on the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk, embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. An hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion. Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver, which opened itself into eighteen larger branches, upon which, and the other less branches, sate birds of every sort, made also of gold and silver. The tree glittered with leaves of the same metals, and while its branches, through machinery, appeared to move of themselves, the several birds upon them warbled their natural notes."

"In considering the dissolution of the fabric of Saracenian greatness, the mind dwells upon the circumstance of the introduction of the Turkish guards, as a strong and active cause. The city of Bagdad was distracted by revolts: all ties between sovereign and subject were dissolved; and the native troops were more frequently partisans of a faction than soldiers of the state. For the defence, therefore, of his person and government, the Caliph Motassem, the eighteenth of the Abassides, formed a militia from the Turkish and Tartarian youths, that he purchased in the various slave-marts of the east. But from Protectors, they soon became lords of the Commanders of the Faithful. Bagdad became the melancholy arena of their violence, their massacres, and their rapine; and like the Janizaries of Constantinople, the Mamlouks of Egypt, and the prætorian guards of Rome, they governed with military despotism. Two races of these Turks, the Toulonides, and the Ikshidites, devastated Egypt and Syria; and the power of the Caliphs was almost annihilated. The Hamadanites, an Arabian tribe, raised a transient empire in Mesopotamia; but the Bowides separated Persia for ever from the Caliphate.

"Religious controversies and wars precipitated the ruin of the empire. The Fatimites of Egypt revived the disputes which agitated the faithful on the foundation of the Ommiadan and Abassidan dynasties, and the blood of many a Moslem was shed, in settling the portion of merit which was due to the four companions of Muhammed. The Carmathians, a sect of fanatics, declared eternal enmity to the pomp of the court of Bagdad. They altered all the forms of worship, permitted the use of wine and pork, and preached against the utility of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Into every quarter of Syria and Arabia, these daring enthusiasts carried their ravages, and at the head of only five hundred horsemen, Abu-Taher, the successor of Carmath, appeared before the gates of Bagdad. "Your master," he exclaimed to the general of the Moslems, "may

"have thirty thousand *soldiers* ; but three such *men* as these are "still wanting in his host." On receiving the signal, one man plunged a sword into his own breast, another leapt into the Tigris, and the third threw himself down a precipice. From the walls of Bagdad, the Carmathians crossed the deserts to Mecca. The holy city was plundered by them, the temple was mutilated, and thousands of pilgrims and citizens were murdered. For two centuries the Carmathians were the scourge of the Caliphate ; the state was convulsed to its centre, and never again became perfectly settled in peace.'

Next comes, as a sort of appendix to the preceding chapters, the dissertation on the causes of the success of the Muhammedan arms and religion. It is very short and very superficial. The success of the religion, he seems to say, was owing to the success of the arms ; but what the success of the arms was owing to, he says very little about. The success of arms, he almost seems to think, is sufficiently accounted for by their being arms. It is true, he tells us, that the Arabians were a people fierce and warlike : but so they had been for many ages, without making any conquests. He adds, indeed, what is usually said, that the spirit of religious enthusiasm was added to the warlike spirit, in making the conquests of the Saracens. But all this goes a very little way in accounting for the revolutions which the arms of the Saracens produced. In pushing our inquiries, however, beyond this point, we get no assistance from Mr. Mills.

IV. In the history of the Muhammedan-Tartarian empires¹ he includes, after a short account of the Tartars and their country, the history of the Muhammedan dynasties in Hindustan ; of Zingis Khan and his successors ; of Tamerlane ; of the Seljukian dynasties ; and of the Othman or present Turkish empire. When it is considered, that all this is brought into 187 small octavo pages, the reader who knows any thing about the extent of the field which is surveyed, will be sufficiently sensible that a small portion only of the matters which belong to that field, can here be adduced. Small as it is, however, it is not without use, nor is the statement without merit. The Author must have been master of his subject to no ordinary degree, to give so good an idea of it, in so very narrow a compass. The young and the uninstructed reader will be improved by a view, all the parts of which he can take in at once, and which may serve as a clew to future inquiries. Even the mind which is more furnished with details, may be rendered more perfectly master of its own stores, by a simultaneous view, a glance which shews the leading parts, and the connexion of them ; which cuts, as it were, roads and passages through the forest ; or, to change the metaphor, groupes the multitude of particulars, and fits them for becoming objects of a distinct and systematic attention.

V. We shall not exactly follow the arrangement of the Author, but shall take the last of his topics, in this place, reserving the speculative part of his performance, for our closing remarks. In giving his account of the present state and extent of the Muhammedan religion, we do not think that his particulars are skilfully grouped. The principal seats of that religion are, undoubtedly, first, Persia, including all the states, whether dependent or independent, within its ancient limits; secondly, Turkey in Asia, Europe, and Africa; thirdly, Arabia itself. After these come the countries in which it exists partially, of which Hindustan is the chief; and next, a portion of the islands in the Indian Sea, to which, perhaps, China and Tartary are to be added, as not altogether free from a mixture of the followers of Muhammed. The Author gives us these countries in the order of Tartary, China, Hindustan, the Indian Archipelago, Persia, Africa, Arabia, Turkey. The only one on which he dwells at any considerable length, is Turkey; we are happy to inform the reader that he will find a very instructive account of the state of Muhammedanism in that country, and indeed of the state of the human mind in general. We do not know many books from which an equally accurate conception of the state of the human mind in Turkey could be drawn; and it is here all contained within a very moderate compass.

VI. We come now to the account which our Author has rendered, of what Muhammedanism is in itself. In this are included, according to the strictest sense of the word, the theological, moral, and juridical codes of the Muselmans; and so closely connected with these great particulars are the literature and science of the people to whom these codes belong, that they may all with great propriety be included in the delineation of what Muhammedanism is in itself.

Our Author begins with the religion. This is the most conspicuous characteristic of the *Koran*. Our Author says,

‘ Abolition of idolatry and superstition, and the restoration of religion to what he called its pristine purity, were the avowed and plausible objects of the Arabian Prophet. The unity and indivisibility of the Godhead formed the basis of his creed, while the promise of rewards and the threat of punishments, both temporal and eternal, secured the virtue of his followers. But their reliance upon the divinity of his own pretended mission in the cause of reformation, was incontestibly necessary for the support of his system; and, therefore, the discordant names of God and Muhammed are united in the confession of the Moslem’s faith :

“ *Ailah il Allah, Muhammed resoul Allah*”—

“ *There is one God, Muhammed is the Apostle of God.* ” p. 261.

The inquiry into the system of religion includes two par-

ticulars ; 1. what it commands its votaries to believe ; 2. what it commands them to practise.

It is well known that the unity of the Divine nature is the leading principle of the religion which Muhammed believed himself commissioned to preach.

‘ In opposition to the general idolatry (and but for the Persians, who worshipped the Creator under the faint image of fire, we might say the universal idolatry) of mankind, the adoration of one only God was the grand foundation of the Mosaic legislation. But Muhammed falsely asserted, that in his days this pure doctrine had been mixed by the acknowledgment of Ezra, as the son or companion of God. At the time of the appearance of the Arabian prophet, the various systems of idolatry and superstitious credence, shocked the moral sense of every philosophical mind, while the false interpretations which the Christian divines of that day, gave of the Scriptural doctrine of the Trinity of persons in one divine essence, too well countenanced the assertion of the Arabian preacher, that a plurality of Gods were worshipped. In order then to banish tenets so absurd, and to settle as a matter of fact, and without reference to metaphysical disquisition, the doctrine concerning the nature of the object of all our hopes and fears, Muhammed proclaims, in every page of the Koran, the unity, holiness, infinity, and eternity, of the Deity.’ p. 273, 4.

The existence of angels, the eternity of the Divine decrees, the revelation of the will of God to mortals, by prophets and by scriptures, the intermediate state of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, are the leading points of belief, which, after the unity of God, our Author presents as commanded by the religion of Muhammed.

The principal acts, the performance of which is enjoined by the Moslem religion, our Author adduces in the following order, 1. Prayer ; 2. The keeping of Friday as a Sabbath ; 3. Ablution ; 4. Giving alms, observing covenants, and patience in the bearing of evil ; 5. Fasting ; 6. Pilgrimage to Mecca ; 7. Circumcision ; 8. Abstinence from wine. Add to these, general exhortations to virtue, kindness to parents and others, justice, and fidelity, &c.

All this is useful to be known, though all this is very commonly known, and very easily said. From any of the more difficult inquiries respecting this system of religion, the Author totally abstains.

As the different species of religion known among mankind, form a gradation from the lowest and most disgusting of the creeds of the savage, up to the most pure and rational forms of Christianity, one important question is, at what intermediate degree in this scale, is the religion of Muhammed placed ? how far does it ascend above the lowest extreme, and how much does it fall short of the highest ? An important question this ; which we just have time and space to put, but far from either

time or space to discuss. In the elucidation of this question much information would come forth. The points which constitute the excellence of any system of religion, the points which constitute its defects, would be sought out, defined, and established. If this were done as clearly and accurately as it ought to be done, the comparison of one system of religion with another, or of one form with another form of the same system, would be easy. Every man would immediately see where his choice ought to fall. There would not be the same doubt and hesitation; there would not be the same prevalence of error. We should not see it so very frequently happen, that men would choose a worse, when they have a better before their eyes, because they have no criterion by which what is good and what is evil, can be easily discriminated.

Another inquiry, less extensive and less difficult, with regard to the Muhammedan religion, would have been the effects it is calculated to produce upon its votaries; whether it is, or whether it is not of any use; whether it produces upon the whole good rather than evil; or whether any people, or every people, would be better without it; whether it affords motives to good conduct sufficient to overbalance the evils which it produces in other respects; whether it aids the progress of the human mind in its gradual ascent from what is less perfect to what is more so; or whether it is wholly an obstruction to that progress. The former inquiry related to the comparison as between this superstition and any other; which produced more, and which less of evil or of good. This inquiry relates to the comparison between this religion and the absence of all religion; whether a people who had no religion at all, or a people who were governed by the Muhammedan religion, would be most favourably situated, *cæteris paribus*, for good conduct towards one another, for progress in knowledge, for every thing, in short, whereon depend the perfection and happiness of this life. Whether in this case application may be made of the opinion of Lord Bacon, expressed in his Essay on Superstition, that 'it were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is but non-belief: The other is contumely: And certainly superstition is the reproaching of Deity.—Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: All which may be guides unto virtue, though religion were not.—But superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute tyranny in the mind of men, &c.'

After the religion and morality of Muhammedanism, our Author proceeds to its Jurisprudence. This is an important article, but very superficially treated. There was not room upon the plan of this work, to do the subject justice; but our Author has

done enough to shew that he was not sufficiently provided with the appropriate knowledge for the performance of the task. There are two species of laws, of which the one exists only for the sake of the other. One species of laws exists for the sake of some good which those laws procure to individuals, severally or conjointly; the other species of laws exists only for the sake of carrying the first species into execution. The last species are the rules for the construction of the tribunals and the modes in which tribunals should perform their business. The first species of laws consists of two sorts; *first*, the laws which establish what shall belong to this individual, and that individual, or body of individuals; *secondly*, those which determine what acts (hurtful to others) shall be restrained by punishment, and what the punishment employed. 1. The *first* of these orders of law is commonly denominated the *Civil*. 2. The *second*, is commonly denominated the *Penal* branch of law. 3. The auxiliary branch, mentioned above, which relates to procedure, might, for the sake of distinction, be called the *Procedorial* branch.

A proper disquisition on the Muhammedan Jurisprudence, would have selected such particulars as would give us a notion of the sort of provisions made by the Muhammedan nations under each of these three heads; and would then, by means of comparison, have shewn us what rank, in point of excellence or of defect, it held among the other systems of the world, and to what degree it fell short of that standard of excellence to which all systems ought to aspire. Instead of this, Mr. Mills gives us only a few words on each of the following topics in the following order: polygamy, prohibited degrees of marriage, divorce, adultery, interdiction of meats, inheritance, prohibition of female infanticide, usury, debts, contracts, murder, theft, retaliation for personal injuries. On these points we have no room to make any comment, nor is it necessary; such a system declares its own character by visible signs.

— Last of all we come to the Literature and Science of the Saracens and Turks. This is a well executed part of the work. The Author has been at no small pains to make himself acquainted with the subject, and has surveyed it with more than an ordinary share of judgement and taste. The reader may here obtain a knowledge, to a considerable degree both correct and complete, in respect to the literary institutions among the Arabians, the actual state of their knowledge, their acquaintance with the philosophy of Aristotle, their mathematics, their pretensions to the invention of the digits, their knowledge of astronomy, anatomy, surgery, chemistry, botany, medicine; the influence of the Saracens in conveying learning into Europe; the literature of Turkey, languages, rhetoric, morality, mathematics,

philosophy, science, astronomy, astrology, the fine arts, and printing. The Author confines himself chiefly to description; with the philosophy of the subject he very sparingly interferes. But if he gives but little of the highest sort of light, he gives not much of what is absolutely bad. He has a tincture of the credulity which so long misled our oriental inquirers, respecting the wonders of oriental philosophy; but it is a tincture not very deeply imbibed.

There is one point which we have reserved to the last, because we think it of peculiar importance. It is the grand subject of *Religious Liberty*, on which the facts adduced in the work before us throw considerable light. The following is a most important fact, because it may be generalized to almost any extent.

‘Some superficial writers on the subject of the Muhammedan religion, have commended Muhammed for his toleration? A few passages in the Koran might indeed make bigotry blush: but such passages do not accurately represent the character of the religion. The truth is, that (like all other reformers) while Muhammed was an humble preacher, he granted liberty of conscience; but when he became a powerful prince, the only choice to those to whom his religion was offered, was submission or tribute. Those portions of the Koran, therefore, which were revealed at Mecca, breathe the language of toleration, while those which were revealed at Medina, speak nothing but persecution.’ p. 323. *Note.*

Tolerant when weak, intolerant when strong! This is a law of nature among those who have an interest in enslaving the minds, and, hence, the bodies of men!

The following is another passage from the work before us, a which we think highly worthy of being peculiarly pointed out to the attention of our readers.

‘The zeal of the Muhammedans for proselytism, has for ages been exhausted, and so perfect is the contempt of the Turk for the professors of every religion but his own, that he thinks their conversion not worthy his endeavours. Sometimes, however, a pious Muselman, instigated by zeal or personal attachment to a Christian or a Jew, lifts up his hands and exclaims, “Great God, enlighten this infidel, and graciously dispose his heart to embrace thy holy religion.” When devout persons propose their faith to the acceptance of a youth, whom they esteem for his talents or his knowledge, they do it with an air of urbanity, and in language of persuasion. The zeal of the missionary is bounded by the rules of good breeding, and a vague answer, or silence, is received as an indication that the subject ought not to be continued. Though a Muselman may pray for the conversion of infidels, yet he is forbidden to implore the divine blessing upon them. “Pray not for those whose death is eternal,” is a precept of the Muhammedan church; and “defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet.”

‘ In every part of Turkey, Christianity is tolerated on certain pecuniary conditions, and the insatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preservative of those Christians and Jews that dwell among them. These infidels are an inexhaustible treasure to the government and to powerful individuals, and protection is dearly purchased. The first effort of Muhammedan education, is to root in the minds of children an abhorrence of Christians and Jews; and infants are taught to distinguish them by the name of Ghiour. The Christians are treated by the Muhammedans, with a cruelty which varies itself in a thousand forms. They are interdicted from the pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, and every public demonstration of worship. They must erect no new churches, and heavy fines to the government increase the expence of repairing the old. Their public and private buildings are measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets and baths they must give way to the meanest of the people; their very dress is commanded to be different from that of the Moslems; and in but few cities dare they appear on horse-back. If a Christian personally chastises a Moslem, his life is forfeited to the laws; but if a Moslem kill a Christian, the murder may be ransomed. In the courts of law, the evidence of two disciples of Jesus, is equivalent only to the testimony of one believer in the Arabian Prophet. In the greetings of these different people, the word Salam is carefully avoided by the Turks, on account of its affinity to the sacred words, Eslam and Moslem, and happy is the Christian, if to the most courteous salutation of his Muhammedan lord, is not added the epithet of infidel or dog.’ p. 390—393.

Christianity is *tolerated* in Turkey: and so are the Dissenters in England. How stands the comparison? The Christians in Turkey are allowed to exist, nay, to teach their religion under certain *restrictions*: so are the Dissenters in England! The restrictions under which the Dissenters are allowed to disseminate their religious opinions in England, are less severe than those under which the Christians are allowed to teach theirs in Turkey. Yes; and that is the sole distinction. Yet, with all this name of *toleration*, no Christian doubts that his brethren live under an actual persecution in Turkey. For the same reason, it is undeniable that every species of non-conformity lies under a species of persecution in England, and, according to the laws, not a very mild species of persecution; though it is readily acknowledged, and with gratitude, that it has become a very mild one in practice: so much has the spirit of the age compelled practice to depart from the laws, and to improve itself in spite of the laws.

The use of the word *toleration*, is justly objectionable. There is the spirit of persecution, there is persecution itself implied in the very term. We tolerate something which is *bad*, when we are not able commodiously to get rid of it. But to treat Dissenterism as something *bad*, is not only in the spirit of persecution, but is persecution itself: it is evil, and the cause of evil.

Dissenterism is a *good*. It is to Dissenterism that we owe every thing which is good, either in our religious or our political institutions. It was Dissenterism which gave to us many of the best parts of them; and it is Dissenterism alone by which they have been, and are, and will be preserved. Make a law to destroy Dissenterism, to allow no religion to exist but Church of Englandism, and in a few years we should have as confirmed and as mischievous a despotism, as any in Europe.

The style of this work indicates a mind of considerable accomplishments. The Author is an admirer of Gibbon, and and there is too much of the imitation of the bad parts of Mr. Gibbon's style, in his work; but it must be allowed that there is also no small portion of the real elegancies which adorn the pages of that eminent historian.

Art. V. *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium, during the Campaign of 1815. And of a Visit to the Field of Waterloo.* By an Englishwoman. 8vo. pp. 350. Price 10s. 6d. Murray. London. 1817.

AN event grand and interesting in itself, and important in its consequences, cannot be placed in too many points of view, or considered with too much minuteness. Such an event was the Battle of Waterloo. The annals of history present nothing that exceeds it in the heroic bravery which it called forth, nothing that would seem calculated to influence more deeply the interests of civilized society.

From the official details of the Commander in Chief, down to the artless and illiterate effusion of the private, who can just scrawl an assurance of his individual safety, to those whom it may concern; from the lofty visions of the poet, to the sober reflections of the moralist, from the ingenious theories of the politician, to the practical calculations of the merchant, whatever has the victory of Waterloo for its foundation and its theme, is certain to rouse attention and invite inquiry. The time will of necessity come, when this great event will be only faintly contemplated through the haze of distance, together with many others once glowing and impressive; but by the present generation at least, it will always be remembered with deep interest.

We are not, however, called upon, in the work before us, to consider the Battle of Waterloo either politically or poetically. Equally removed from the dryness of mere disquisition, or the dazzling exuberance of ornament, which a work, wherein the imagination claims a chief part, is privileged to wear, the fair Author of the "*Residence in Belgium*" presents us a domestic picture of the feelings excited by the Battle of Waterloo, fought in its immediate vicinity, rather than a narrative of

the manner in which it was conducted, or reflections upon its general consequences. The lady will, we feel well convinced, forgive us, when we say that one great charm in her work is derived from the sex of the Author. In those whom Milton styles

‘ ————— the fair defect
Of nature,’

weakness is generally an appeal to kindness, and ignorance or misapprehension almost always excusable. Hence, the petty troubles and vexations which it is the lot of travellers of every description to encounter, and which they seem to think it their bounden duty to lay before their readers, assume more the air of serious grievances when they are related by a female, and, as such, awaken more compassion for her, than we feel disposed to bestow on the majority of the gentlemen rovers, who begin to find fault with their destiny, at Dover, and keep on in the same strain of lamentation,

‘ Where’er they turn, whatever realms they see.’

The grander events of life likewise, falling more rarely within the sphere of the actual observation of woman, awaken in her, when an opportunity of contemplating them does occur, a transport of feeling, which men seldom experience, and still more seldom express. Susceptible and enthusiastic from organization, retired and timid through habit, she is at once powerfully alive to impressions of novelty, and eloquent in her description of its effects. The human soul instinctively loves excitement, and in this particular we do not believe that it allows of any difference in sex, though we are aware that some of the male part of creation have ungallantly charged their softer help-mates with an innate cruelty of disposition, no way metaphorical, but manifesting itself in the eagerness with which they are occasionally seen to run to witness a sanguinary spectacle, whether it be the burning of a widow on the banks of the Ganges, or of a heretic at Lisbon; a bull-fight in Madrid, or an execution at the Old Bailey. But from the love of excitement, which we have already mentioned, or some other cause, connected in an unseen manner with our good, we are all of us, at times, fond of searching after objects which, when obtained, we know will certainly inflict a degree of pain. That women, impelled by novelty, may be daily found contemplating, with apparent interest, spectacles from which their softer nature might be expected to shrink, the most devoted champion of the sex will not undertake to deny; but that they witness them without emotion, nay, that their sympathy does not often amount to anguish almost insupportable, not its hardest libeller will venture to affirm.

In the unaffected account which our fair countrywoman gives us of her feelings and conduct, on finding herself most unexpectedly made a spectator of events in which all Europe was interested, we see at once that spirit of enterprise, that voluntary self-agitation, which uncommon occurrences will always rouse in an enlarged and vigorous mind, whatever be the frame which contains it, joined to the quick perception, the melting sensibility, the active tenderness, which are at once the most engaging and the most valuable attributes of the female character.

After a modest preface, the Author commences her narrative with introducing us to her *compagnons de voyage*, consisting, besides her brother and sister, of a knight, a major, and a merchant. This variety of character in the *dramatis personæ*, is well calculated to display a variety of opinions, and to open increased sources of information respecting passing events. After a due portion of the inconveniences, and 'hair-breadth 'scapes' which to travellers seem the 'afflictions that form part of their dreams of happiness,' the whole party enter Ostend, after dusk, by the aid of the Major's cocked-hat, aide-de-camp's uniform, and authoritative assurance that they were 'going to join the army with speed.' From Ostend to Bruges and Ghent, nothing particular occurs. The lady is very angry with *Louis le Desiré*, whom she sees at the latter place, for being corpulent, gouty, and uninteresting; and seems to think it a duty in a monarch who has been exiled and dethroned, to appear amiable, and make elegant bows. No doubt many of the French nation are of her opinion. From Ghent the party proceeds towards Brussels, and after the mention of that name, the Author contrives to interest the reader in every step of their route. They enter the city with part of a body of the Brunswick troops, generally called Black Brunswickers, whose sable garbs, horses, and plumes, strike upon the lively fancy of the Narrator, as of ominous appearance. But this *sombre* idea is soon put to flight by the gay and animated air which Brussels assumes, filled with troops of different nations, descriptions, and dresses, among which our travellers were delighted to see the British soldiers, particularly the Highlanders, laughing and joking, with much apparent glee, with the inhabitants.

Scarcely however do they enter the Hotel de Flandre, and literally they had not yet sat down, when they learn that hostilities had commenced that very afternoon; and the hurry of feeling which this intelligence excites, is well described; though we cannot quite concur in the admiration our fair Author expresses of the heroism exhibited by the Duke of Wellington, and most of his officers, in resolving to fulfil their engagement to a ball

at the Duchess of Richmond's that night, even though it might be the last of their existence; we cannot subscribe to the poetical authority she quotes, which says, that pleasure is

‘ ————— sweetest then
When danger to a soldier's soul endears
The human joy that never may return;’

and even if we were so far disposed to refine upon our joys, as to endeavour to heighten them by the consideration that they may be our last, which however seems a somewhat doubtful source of satisfaction, yet as pleasure is not the primary end of existence, we must hold that at the prospect of a termination of it, some more important engagement might have presented itself to the consideration of reflective men, than that of a ball room. Nor can we admire the additional proof of bravery which the Commander in Chief gave, by remaining in it till two o'clock in the morning, after he had received a second despatch from Blucher, informing him of the serious aspect of the attack, that the French had taken Charleroi, and driven back the Prussians, and that it was necessary for the British to march immediately to their aid. The following extracts will afford a favourable specimen of the Author's animated manner of describing the state of Brussels at this moment.

‘ Scarcely had I laid my weary head upon the pillow, when the bugle's loud and commanding call sounded from the Place Royale. “Is that the call to arms?” I exclaimed, starting up in the bed. S—— laughed at the idea; but I heard it again, and we listened with eager and anxious suspense. For a few moments a pause of doubt ensued. Hark! Again! it sounded through the silence of the night, and from every quarter of the town it was now repeated, at short and regular intervals. “It is the call to arms!” I exclaimed. Instantly the drums beat; the Highland pibroch sounded—It was the call to arms! Oh! never, never shall I forget the feelings of that moment! Immediately the utmost tumult and confusion succeeded to the silence in which the city had previously been buried. At half past two we were roused by a loud knocking at our room door, and J——'s voice calling to us to get up instantly, not to lose a moment, that the troops were under arms—were marching out against the French, and that Major ——— was waiting to see us before he left Brussels.’ p. 37.—‘Just as he left us the dawn appeared, and by the faint twilight of morning we saw the Place Royale filled with armed men, and with all the tumult and confusion of martial preparation. All was “hurry scurry for the field.” Officers were looking in vain for their servants—servants running in pursuit of their masters—baggage waggons were loading—bât-horses preparing—trains of artillery harnessing—and, amidst the clanking of horses' hoofs, the rolling of heavy carriages, the clang of arms, the sounding of bugles, and the neighing of chargers, we distinctly heard, from time to time, the loud deep-toned word of command, while the incessant din of hammers nailing, “gave dreadful note of

preparation." p. 40. 'As the dawn broke, the soldiers were seen assembling, from all parts of the town in marching order, with their knapsacks on their backs, loaded with three days' provision. Unconcerned in the midst of the din of war, many a soldier laid himself down on a truss of straw, and soundly slept, with his hands still grasping his firelock; others were sitting contentedly on the pavement, waiting the arrival of their comrades. Numbers were taking leave of their wives and children, perhaps for the last time, and many a veteran's rough cheek was wet with the tears of sorrow. One poor fellow, immediately under our windows, turned back again and again, to bid his wife farewell, and take his baby once more in his arms; and I saw him hastily brush away a tear with the sleeve of his coat, as he gave her back the child for the last time, wrung her hand, and ran off to join his company, which was drawn up on the other side of the Place Royale.' p. 43.—'During the whole night, or rather morning, we stood at the open window, unable to leave these sights and sounds of war, or to desist for a moment from contemplating a scene so new, so affecting, and so deeply interesting to us. Regiment after regiment formed and marched out of Brussels; we heard the last word of command—March! the heavy measured uniform tread of the soldiers' feet upon the pavement, and the last expiring note of the bugles as they sounded from afar.' p. 46.—'Before seven in the morning the streets which had been so lately thronged with armed men and with busy crowds, were empty and silent. The great square of the Place Royale no longer resounded with the tumult and preparations for war. The army were gone, and Brussels seemed a perfect desert. The mourners they had left behind, were shut up in their solitary chambers, and the faces of the few who were slowly wandering about the streets, were marked with the deepest anxiety and melancholy. The heavy military waggons, ranged in order, and ready to move, as occasion might require, were standing under the silent guard of a few sentinels. The Flemish drivers were sleeping in the long tilted carts, destined to convey the wounded; and the horses ready to harness at a moment's notice, were quietly feeding on fresh cut grass, by their side. The whole livelong day and night did these Flemish men and horses pass in the Place Royale. A few officers were still to be seen, slowly riding out of town to join the enemy. The Duke of Wellington set off about eight o'clock, in great spirits, declaring he expected to be back by dinner time, and dinner was accordingly prepared for him. Sir Thomas Picton, who, like ourselves, had only arrived in Brussels the day before, rode through the streets in true soldier-like style, with his reconnoitring-glass slung across his shoulders; and reining in his charger, as he passed, to exchange salutations with his friends, left Brussels—never to return.' p. 50.

The dreary suspense, the eager longings for intelligence, the contradictory reports, and the alternations of hope and fear which our travellers in common with others suffer during this anxious day, are described with much force and interest; and a number of domestic traits introduced without preparation or study, make us feel that the picture is from life.

Compelled at last, through considerations of even personal safety, to flee from Brussels to Antwerp, our lively Narrator still takes us along with her, and at every step of the road draws our attention to some object of interest, and by her own reflections, gives it an additional claim to our notice. At Antwerp, after the most agonizing sensations having been excited by positive assurances, strengthened by almost every corroborative appearance, that the British army had been totally defeated, and that the French were already in possession of Brussels, the happy reverse is made known, victory is proclaimed in every street, and the frantic joy that is described as pervading all ranks of people, brings home to our bosoms once more the sensations with which these tidings were received in England, chastened with us, as well as among those who more immediately witnessed the sufferings of the wounded, with reflections upon the slaughter and bloodshed which had purchased it.

After a fortnight passed in making the tour of Holland, a journey in general as unfavourable to the display of wit, humour, or sentiment, as a walk round the Cave of Trophonius was to the exercise of the risible muscles, our Author takes her leave of it in the same spirit of disgust which prompted the concise farewell of a French wit: 'Adieu! Canaux, Canards, Canaille!' and returns to Antwerp with more tranquil sensations than those she brought with her on first entering it. After some good remarks on pictures, and in particular on those of the Flemish School, she retraces her course to Brussels, and enters it about the same hour that she had done for the first time.

'Then,' she remarks, 'the British military were crowding every street; standing at every corner; leaning out of every window, in the full vigour of youth, and hope, and expectation: then they were gaily talking and laughing, unconscious that to many it was the last night of their lives. Now, Brussels was filled with the wounded. It is impossible to describe with what emotions we read the words, "Militaires blessés," marked upon every door; "un, deux, trois, quatre," even "huit Officiers blessés," were written upon the houses in white chalk. As we slowly passed along, at every open window we saw the wounded, "languid, and pale, the ghosts of what they were." In the Parc, which had presented so gay a scene on the night of our arrival, crowded with military men, and with fashionable women. A few officers, lame, disabled, or supported on crutches, with their arms in slings, or their heads bound up, were now only to be seen, slowly loitering in its deserted walks, or languidly reclining on its benches.' p. 240.

The scenes of anguish and mourning which our travellers could not avoid witnessing at Brussels, and in which they in some measure personally shared in consequence of the sufferings

of the military friend who had left England in their company, and was severely wounded at the battle of Waterloo, are briefly touched upon, with the energetic conciseness of true sensibility, which seeks to inspire sympathy, but wishes not to torture it when excited. A day's pilgrimage to the field of Waterloo, is narrated with many interesting particulars, which, if not new in themselves, are made to appear so from the light in which they are exhibited by the Author. Every where alive to patriotic and enthusiastic feelings, she is peculiarly sensible of their influence on this interesting spot, and seems to traverse the ground with a cheek glowing with heroic sentiments, and eyes ready to pay the tribute of her tears to the memory of those who have fallen. After relating some painful transactions that came within her own knowledge, she makes the following judicious remark.

‘I have forced myself to dwell upon these scene of horror, with whatever pain to my own feelings, because in this favoured country which the mercy of heaven has hitherto preserved from being the theatre of war, and from experiencing the calamities which have visited other nations, I have sometimes thought that the blessings of that exemption are but imperfectly felt, and that the sufferings and the dangers of those whose valour and whose blood have been its security and glory, are but faintly understood, and coldly commiserated. I wished that those who had suffered in the cause of their country, should be repaid by her gratitude, and that she should learn more justly to estimate the “price of victory,” but it is impossible for me to describe or for imagination to conceive the horrors of Waterloo.’ p. 322.

We now take our leave of this lively and elegant writer. Few indeed of her sex and condition in life, have ever been enabled to contemplate so near, events of the magnitude and interest which an unpremeditated combination of events brought within the sphere of her observation; and few could have related the effect of them upon their minds with more judgement and interest.

Art. VI. *Suggestions for the Prevention and Mitigation of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases, comprehending the Abolition of Quarantines and Lazarettoes.* With some opportune Remarks upon the Danger of Pestilence from Scarcity. Intended to serve as an Introduction to a Work, entitled, *Researches in Turkey concerning the Plague, &c.* By Charles Maclean, M.D. Lecturer on the Diseases of Hot Climates, to the Honourable East India Company. pp. 106. Underwoods. London. 1817.

WE have recently expressed our sentiments on the subject of infectious maladies. We stated the difference which, in our minds, exists between contagion and infection; and while we objected to those sweeping dogmas which contend

for the absolute incommunicability, in any way, of fever, as a contagious disease, we admitted that the laws at present in force, for the purpose of preventing such communication, are founded upon false notions of the circumstances connected with the propagation of true fever.*

Recent, however, as have been our suggestions on this head, occurrences have still more recently taken place, illustrative as it appears to us of the principle for which we argued, namely, that genuine Fever, unlike the true contagious, may originate spontaneously, and without the application of a specific poison, while this very fever thus induced, shall be able, during its course, to engender such poison, which, (*under certain circumstances, exterior and internal, of the recipient,*) shall prove capable of imparting the disorder to another individual previously in a state of health.

Famine, as a source of fever, may be denied by those who contend for the necessity in all instances of a peculiar virus; but the facts recorded only a very few weeks since, in our daily journals, of the appearance of this malady in several of the Cantons of Switzerland, and elsewhere, are, to say the very least, strongly presumptive against the doctrine of contagion, as the necessary and sole cause of the constitutional disturbances in question. During the late more than common scarcity, we have indeed ourselves witnessed in this city the visitation of Typhus fever among the poor, which it seemed impossible to trace to any other source, than the bodily debility and mental depression resulting from the distresses of the times. Here then, says the anticontagionist, we find an explication sufficiently satisfactory, of fever's production; and why, therefore, busy ourselves with looking after occult sources of phenomena already accounted for? We do not, our opposer of contagion would continue to urge, see small-pox, measles, scarlet fevers, thus arise out of poverty, and filth, and wretchedness; nor do we witness the decline of this last order of diseases, in proportion as the conveniences and comforts of life are increased. Let us abandon then the untenable hypothesis of contagion as a cause of fever, and divest ourselves of the unfounded apprehensions which such hypothesis must necessarily bring with it.

‘ It is the part of wisdom (says the writer of the tract before us) to be prepared for every event. And if we are properly prepared for that, which I have supposed possible, by making ourselves acquainted before hand with the true causes of epidemic diseases, and with the appropriate measures to be pursued for their alleviation, prevention,

* See our Review of “ Dr. Adams on Epidemic Diseases.” Vol. VI. page 463.

and cure, (concerning all of which the most destructive errors continue to prevail,) I will venture to affirm, that the mortality to be apprehended from their intrinsic severity, need not be contemplated with terror.

‘The peculiar nature of my experience, perhaps, may be deemed to justify my speaking with some degree of confidence upon this important subject; and it assuredly would not be, upon any evidence short of demonstration, that I should permit myself to assert, in the most unqualified terms, that with the exception of those diseases, as small pox and measles, which notoriously depend upon that source, there is no fever nor any general disease in existence, that we know of, which is propagated by contagion.

‘I have been led more at large into this train of observation (continues Dr. M.) from having repeatedly perused in the public journals advertisements announcing the meeting of a *soi-disant* “Institution, for the cure and prevention of *contagious* fever in the Metropolis;” and by the desire to counteract the false and pernicious impression that might be made upon the public mind, by an annunciation of this nature, seeming to come from medical authority, if it were left freely to operate, in the event of any casual increase of sickness in London, or others of our populous towns or cities.’

The above extract from Dr. Maclean, is a sufficiently unequivocal statement of the inferences which his inquiries have led him to make on the subject of febrile origin and transmission; and we have been induced to present such inference in full to our readers, partly because it is in general best to permit authors to speak in their own language, and partly because we are desirous of doing the little that is in our power, to advocate the cause of an institution, which has thus, in our judgement, been unjustly aspersed by the strictures of the present writer.

We have already, in terms that cannot be misunderstood, expressed our accordance in the sentiments of the anti-contagionist, when he maintains the independent origin of fever; in other words, we have repeatedly announced our belief in the frequent production of fever, without the application of the virus of fever; but, having gone along in unison with the oppugner of contagion up to this point, we here stop, and argue the matter with him; and as all argument is groundless that has not ‘fact’ for its support, we shall now state a circumstance which we have happened to witness within a few days since. In one of the dark and dirty streets of London, the father of a poor family fell ill of fever, which proved to be of the erysipelatous kind, and which was pronounced not contagious. Previously to this poor man’s complete recovery, his wife, who had been his nurse and attendant, likewise fell with fever, which, to use the language of medicine, assumed more of the true typhous character. This, Dr. Maclean and Dr. Adams would tell us, was induced in the wife, by the same causes as

those which occasioned it in the husband, and does not prove any thing in favour of contact with the sick, as the source of the complaint. But very soon one of the children likewise was attacked with fever, which still put on somewhat of a different type from that of both father and mother. During the whole of the time, relations and friends exposed themselves with impunity to the infectious *atmosphere* of the apartment, and we heard of no individuals but those belonging to the family (sleeping and coming in contact with each other,) being at all injured by exposure. Now, it would appear to us to be a conjecture founded on all the fairness of analogy, and comparison with other cases, that had the poor fellow who was the first to fall under the influence of fever, been immediately removed to the fever house in the neighbourhood, and there nursed and attended upon, none of the other branches of the family would have become the subjects of fever, and that such cases in all instances being thus treated, the multiplication of points of contact would thereby be prevented, and the spread of infection interrupted. From all indeed that we have seen, from all that we are daily in the practice of seeing, from every fact and from every law connected with the pathology of fever, we feel convinced that the separation of the sick from the healthy is an important principle in the management of febrile cases, and in the prevention of febrile propagation.

In the above narration it will have been remarked, that the successive attacks upon the respective individuals, were of a different kind, and this difference we should explain by the comparative mildness of the poison, which, while it was sufficiently operative to occasion disease, was not powerful enough to engender a precisely similar complaint in each instance; and, it is upon this particular our readers will recollect, that we formerly made to hinge the difference between the virus of fever, and that of the true contagions: and it is upon this ground, as it appears to us, that the inexpediency of quarantine may be argued and proved; as it has never yet been found that any individuals ill of fever, or any garments worn by, or having come in contact with, such individuals, are sufficiently poisonous to produce an epidemic disorder in distant lands, of which the latitude and condition of the atmosphere are dissimilar. With Dr. Maclean then, we believe,

1. 'That the laws of quarantine are absurd.
2. 'That plague police establishments, are in fact insufficient for their object.
3. 'That they are injurious to health, navigation, and commerce, and
4. 'A source of great and pernicious expenditure.'

But we do *not* believe with him, that fever can never be

communicated by contact, or that its virus is incapable of passing from the living body into inanimate matter, and rendering such matter to a certain extent infectious. It is the comparative, not the absolute want of power of the virus, upon which we would establish our objections to quarantine, fully convinced as we feel, of the actual necessity for the combination of many adventitious causes, in order that an endemic should be conveyed from one region of the globe to another.

But we cannot again go over the ground of the contagious dispute ; nor, should we have even adverted to it in any way, had it not been for the increasing interest which has been excited in the public mind on this question, by the recent revival of an almost extinguished malady, Typhus fever. Of the spread and increase of this malady, we for ourselves have no apprehensions, convinced as we are, that the present mode of managing the complaint by separation, cleanliness, ventilation, &c. will prove sufficiently preventive of its becoming endemic in Britain, to any thing like the extent with which it formerly raged ; and as to the importation of this, or any other form of fever, we verily believe it to be impossible in the nature of things, for a whole ship's crew landed immediately from the Levant into London, even with the plague upon all of them, to be equal to making the plague endemic with us, unless by the grossest mismanagement we gradually suffered that atmosphere of infection to be formed, upon which so much has been said in the article to which we have previously referred our readers.

With regard to the particular pamphlet under consideration, we have to say generally, that with some exception of awkwardly involved phraseology, it is upon the whole creditable to the Author's talents as a writer. It is, however, of too dogmatic a cast, and is objectionable on the score of its unfounded pretensions to novelty. Dr. Maclean is by no means the first person, as he all along *insinuates*, who has called in question the existence of contagion, or detected the error and absurdity of quarantine.

Art. VII. 1. *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons.* By John Haslam, M.D. late of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. pp. 80. Price 3s. London. Hunter. 1817.

2. *Cursory Remarks on a Bill now in the House of Peers, for regulating of Madhouses,* (its probable Influence upon the Physical and Moral Condition of the Insane, and upon the Interests of those concerned in their Care and Management.) With Observations on the Defects of the present System. By George Man Burrows, M.D. F.L.S. &c. pp. 104. Price 4s. Longman. 1817.

SOME of our readers will probably be inclined to say, that Insanity, like Infection, is a subject that has been already

exhausted by us. The two pamphlets, however, just announced, are written by persons of accredited authority, and it would seem not to be amiss to give our readers a slight notice of their character and contents. Whatever, indeed, promises to throw light upon either the nature or the management of mental alienation, will still continue to be regarded with no slender interest, and we opened both the pamphlets before us, with that kind of anticipation which is grounded upon former proofs of merit.

Something like curiosity too, mingled itself with our desire to peruse the lucubrations of Dr. Haslam, on a topic in which he has lately been implicated in so very extraordinary a manner. Will his tract, thought we, (it was a very natural suggestion,) assume any thing like the shape of a justification of himself, and a condemnation of his accusers?

Dr. Haslam, we do not hesitate to say, has somewhat disappointed us in every particular. He is totally silent on the subject of his own case, and, considering the extensive opportunities which he has had of observing the wanderings of the human mind, and the ability he has displayed in his prior publications, the pamphlet now under notice we are compelled to characterize as a rather meagre production.

To say it is destitute of interest, would be saying too much. We meet, in the first place, with some very just and well-timed remarks under the head of coercion. We call them well-timed remarks, because we are somewhat disposed to think, that from the natural tendency there is in the mind to extremes, that part of the public which takes a particular interest in insanity, will be too much disposed, in the present state of things, to regard with too jealous an eye the exercise of even necessary and salutary restraint in cases of maniacal violence. The following remarks too, as well as being just in themselves, will serve to show the combination of qualities which ought to be possessed by the persons who undertake the direction and control of deranged intellect.

‘ Abundant experience (says Dr. H.) teaches us, that restraint is not only necessary as a protection to the patient and to those about him, but that it also contributes to the cure of insanity. It is not intended here to institute a physiological inquiry into the nature of madness, nor to investigate the history and constitution of its attendant passions: it will be sufficient to demonstrate that habits of self control are established both in the sane and insane mind by the same agents. That the fear of punishment or degradation which deters a rational being who exercises his reflection, from the commission of a crime, would in due time and properly administered check the outrageous sallies of the lunatic.

‘ The fact is well established, that proper restraint on the conduct of an insane person, will curb his propensity to precipitate his

thoughts into immediate action, although the derangement of his intellect still continues. It should be the endeavour of the practitioners in those cases where malevolence forms a prominent feature, to ascertain how much appears to arise from actual disease, and what part should be attributed to evil passions associated (with), but not actually depending on the morbid affection; and this inquiry will be considerably facilitated by a consideration of the natural character, education, and pursuits of the patient. The necessity of restraint, as a mean of cure, is most satisfactorily illustrated from the confession of those who have recovered, and who possess a recollection of their disordered state. When such persons have been asked to what circumstances they especially attributed their recovery, they have in general deposed, that when they found themselves effectually restrained from fulfilling the dictates of their will, they then became enlightened by a gleam of reflection, and ceased to obey the impulse which prompted them.

When treating on the especial duty of keepers, Dr. Haslam likewise introduces some very sensible remarks on the command of temper which is on all accounts absolutely requisite to be possessed by those who are about the insane. It is on this point that, without the most scrupulous care, errors in the management of lunatics, of a highly mischievous kind, are apt to be committed. 'It is' says our Author, 'with insane persons, much as with children, their countenance and manner evince, *and often through life*, the effects of mild and liberal, or of severe and tyrannical discipline.' Allowing the justice of this remark, (and who will dispute its rectitude?) what an awful responsibility is imposed upon them who take upon themselves the charge of governing the minds of such as are rendered wayward, and unruly, and *childish*, by the most cruel of all diseases! It depends often upon the nicety of 'moral management,' whether reason shall be reinstated with all her wonted powers, or whether a confirmed melancholy or complete idiocy shall succeed the violent tempests of mental agitation; just in the same manner as the natural disposition of a child becomes matured in after life into frightful monstrosity, or is in a considerable measure quelled and kept under by parental tutelage.

Dr. Haslam is aware of the necessity for improving the condition of keepers, and inciting them to a more humane and conscientious discharge of their duty, and he proposes to meliorate the present condition of this class of persons, by the establishment of a fund, as a provision for the latter period of their lives, to which during their employment, they should contribute by a weekly or monthly instalment. To this scheme Dr. Burrows objects, conceiving that it would only have the effect of making keepers more idle and insolent, and less obedient to their employers. Both these writers however agree, and every

one must accord with them, that all plans for improvement in the management of the insane, must, to be fully efficient, have respect to some device for an improvement in the qualifications of keepers.

‘ I have dwelt much (says Dr. B.) upon the character and situation of these people, because it is impossible to estimate too highly their great importance to the physician and superintendant; nor can any but those who have felt the severe disappointment and perplexity arising from the deficiency of their qualifications, conceive how frequently the wisest plans and best intentions are frustrated by their ignorance and want of principle.’

On the subject of classifying insane individuals, Dr. Haslam does not advance any thing that is particularly worthy of notice. His subsequent section, entitled, ‘ Diminished Sensibility of the Insane,’ treats of a phenomenon often attendant upon an alienation of mind, which shews the very extraordinary and important changes that the nervous system undergoes under circumstances of mental abstraction or aberration. Without any apparent alteration of structure, those organs whose office it is to convey sensations to the mind, are liable, in insanity, to the utmost variety of condition; sometimes possessing an acuteness of feeling which renders existence in the highest degree distressing, and at others, displaying such an entire torpor, that operations of the most painful kind shall be performed upon the body without occasioning even an unpleasant feeling, and not unfrequently, the whole system obstinately refuses to be affected in any manner, by agents otherwise of a most powerful nature.

‘ A short time since, I attended a Lady (says Dr. H.) who had, in various ways, attempted suicide; on one occasion she had concealed a piece of window glass in her mouth, with which she mangled her throat in a dreadful manner; her endeavour to effect her destruction with this instrument, continued more than half an hour, but she denied that the process was painful. I recollect a female, who, some years ago, with a pin, contrived to dissect or scratch out a piece of the upper jaw, with two teeth attached, but she maintained that she had suffered no pain.’

And such instances as these, more or less marked, are daily occurring to the medical practitioner. Were we to be guided in our judgement on these cases, entirely by the patient’s own testimony respecting the absence of feeling, there would perhaps be some room for error, since the accuracy of his recollection might be suspected; but, as above hinted, we sometimes actually witness this state of insensibility, by the ineffectual administration and application of remedial and other substances, otherwise possessing a very considerable activity. The German

professor Hufeland records an extraordinary circumstance of this kind, which is inserted in a contemporary journal. In this case, the individual, labouring under a disease of the imagination, but perfectly resigned to every trial that was made for his recovery, took strong emetics without any effect, and had blisters applied to the skin, without their producing the smallest cutaneous irritation. Such cases, we say, in a greater or less degree, are of every day occurrence; and it would seem well for medical men to consider even more than they do, the state of the mind and nerves, when endeavouring to ascertain the physical effects of medical plans of treatment.

The last particular to which we shall advert, in Dr. Haslam's tract, is the reply which he gives to the important inquiry, 'how far the hereditary tendency to insanity may be counter-acted by early endeavours to cultivate and discipline the intellect.' We do not approve of our Author's sentiments on this head, convinced as we feel that much may be done towards checking baneful propensities by a vigilant attention to an early direction of the passions and the intellect. That education will do every thing for the human mind is a position that no one who knows any thing of human nature will be disposed for one instant to maintain: nor will any one, who has at all studied the laws of animal and intellectual being, be Utopian enough to imagine, that impending insanity can always be averted by human agency. We are, nevertheless, persuaded, that much may be effected by early and careful cultivation, without rendering the subject of such cultivation 'coldly rational and tamely benevolent;' without superinducing 'actions regulated too much by solemn propriety,' or 'friendships and affections bounded and measured by cautious calculations.' Indeed, our objector to restraint is somewhat inconsistent with himself, for he allows that 'some experience has convinced him that an early and persevering attention to the child may superinduce an ameliorated condition both of the physical constitution and moral character.' And this surely is conceding the point of the utility of early discipline.

We have left ourselves just space enough to notice the tenor and tendency of Dr. Burrows's pamphlet. His objections to Mr. Rose's bill, as it is called, are of a very similar cast to those contained in a pamphlet which we some time since noticed, under the title of '*Observations on the Laws relating to private Lunatic Asylums.*' Indeed, there is such a coincidence of sentiment in the two objectors, that we are surprised a man of Dr. Burrows' respectability and candour should not have referred to this tract. Although we differ in some essential points from the Author of that pamphlet, and from Dr. Bur-

rows, we think our legislators would do well to consider the objections of these writers before the bill be passed into a law. The act certainly requires some very material modifications, and some of its clauses are evidently calculated to increase the evil they are intended to diminish. We sincerely wish that all who undertake the management of mental hallucination were possessed of the intellectual and moral qualifications with which we believe Dr. Burrows to be endowed, for then there would be comparatively little need for the interposition of the legislative authority, to check the disposition to a dereliction of duty. Dr. Burrows's pamphlet is throughout well written and ably argued; it is always, however, necessary for the reader to think of the *granum salis*, when an individual canvasses a public question in which he is personally concerned.

Art. VIII. 1 *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown*. With a Selection of his Sermons preached at Calcutta. 8vo. pp. xviii., 495. Price 12s. Cadell and Davies London. 1816.

2. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D. late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal*. By the Rev. Hugh Pearson, M.A. of St. John's College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xii, 782. Price 1l. 1s. Cadell and Davies. London. 1817.

SOME of the most interesting details of history, are to be found only in the form of Memoirs. It is from this source that we can derive the best account of the true spirit and character of past times, as exhibited in the familiar sentiments and actions of the men who were the growth of the institutions then existing, and who reflected back their own character upon society. Ecclesiastical biography is the most valuable species of memoir writing, because it supplies us with exactly those facts respecting which the historian is altogether silent, and because in the religion of a country, or more properly speaking, in the state of religion in a country, we have not only the most important portion of its history presented to us, but that portion which furnishes the key to most of the domestic or political events which distinguish the period in its annals. For want of the accurate information which is to be obtained only from *auto-biographical* memoirs, or the sketches of contemporaries, impartially collated and compared, respecting the internal religious history of our country, some of the most interesting circumstances of our political history remain still involved in obscurity; for if the characters of men are to be learned from their actions, it is not less true that the real design and reason of those actions are to be ascertained only by a knowledge of their characters; and as the illustration of human nature is the grand moral purpose

of history, it is not what men *did*, of which it is of the most consequence for us to be informed, but what they *were*, and what were the principles which gave impulse and direction to their actions.

The memoirs of individuals eminent in respect of their combining talent and station with true piety, are indeed calculated to answer a purpose of more direct, though not more extensive utility. They are *Christianity made easy* to the learner; and they often give a most potent and beneficial bias to the character of persons to whom it is more natural and easy to imitate, than to obey; less difficult to follow an example, than to adhere to a moral standard of excellence. Who is there indeed, upon whose mind the force of example, in shaming them out of their inaction, in rousing a noble emulation, or in inspiring them to confidence, has not had at seasons, an efficacy which no other considerations seemed to possess? Of this powerful mode of argument, how strikingly the Apostle has availed himself, in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, where he brings before the Christian the whole company of Jewish worthies, as both fore-runners and witnesses of his course, who, having left on record the trial of their faith, look down with attentive interest on those who are still engaged in the combat from which themselves have come off victors.

The names of David Brown and Claudius Buchanan, are familiar to most of our readers, as fellow-labourers in the great cause of advancing the interests of Christianity in our Eastern dominions. We have not classed the two works together for the purpose of instituting any comparison between the characters of these two eminent individuals, but merely because they may be considered as companion works, illustrative of each other. The Memoirs of Dr. Buchanan, are the most replete with historical notices. Mr. Pearson has, however, been very unnecessarily minute in some of his biographical details. The plan too, of combining memoirs of writings with a sketch of the private history, in cases in which the literary character and productions do not form the most distinguishing or interesting feature of the individual, is not judicious. It adds very unnecessarily to the bulk, and not much to the value of a work. Private letters, indeed, frequently illustrate the character much better than any narrative or remarks of the biographer: but even these, where they are not remarked by intrinsic excellence, should be sparingly made use of, and should be referred to as data, or quoted in the shape of extracts, rather than spread over successive pages, in order to answer the professed purpose of making the deceased his own biographer. It is the business of the writer of such a work, to read over much which it cannot be necessary or proper to submit to the public eye, and to give the result of that patient reading, and of the deliberative judgement

which personal acquaintance or the other qualifications requisite in a biographer, shall have enabled him to bring to bear upon those materials. This task may indeed require more talent and more labour to be expended upon it, and it may render more necessary the frank expression of the author's own sentiments and opinions, than the modern and more slovenly method of compiling memoirs. It may also, we are well aware, be less gratifying to private friends and correspondents, who attach to every fragment a value which the public cannot attach, and who are therefore not content that these relics should be consigned to the silent inspection of the biographer, as the final purpose they are to answer. But if utility be the object of such publications, that utility would be best promoted by a more rigid adherence to the genuine design and business of biography, which is, to teach by example, and which renders the record of private sentiment proper, only so far as it essentially conduces to the development of character. It is not even the fairest method, to make a man in this way his own posthumous biographer: it is frequently not just, as respects the intellectual character of the individual; and it is not the most satisfactory to the public; for the general tribute of the world, or the testimony of those who knew and loved the man in private, speaks more than a hundred letters, which disclose only what he felt and not how he acted; exhibiting to a certain extent, the qualities of his mind, but not the force, and bearings, and influence of his principles, nor what impression his character produced on that portion of society with which it was brought into collision or contact.

It will not be supposed that we should in any case wish to substitute for even an uninteresting series of documents of this description, pages of less interesting and less instructive panegyric. The delineation of character is not to be entrusted to every hand: it requires some degree of penetration and knowledge of the heart, as well as strict integrity. Nor are we fond of sentimental reflections: facts supply their own commentary; and example, exhibited in all the simplicity of history, carries with it its own forcible moral: "Go thou and do likewise."

The memorial sketches of the Rev. Mr. Brown, are edited by the Rev. Mr. Simeon, and to him we are indebted, as appears from the Preface, for the very interesting materials comprised in this volume, which have been substituted for the original plan of selecting a volume or two of Mr. Brown's Sermons for the press. He wisely determined, that 'to send forth such productions which the Author has never had any opportunity to revise, is, however kindly intended, an injury to the person whose name they bear.' At Mr. Simeon's suggestion, therefore, a memoir of her departed husband has been drawn up by Mrs. Brown, which, by the good sense and piety it displays,

amply justifies the recommendation : there could not have been found a more suitable biographer. The "Sketches" extend to a hundred and forty pages ; extracts from Mr. Brown's private papers and correspondence, which appear to be judiciously selected, are given as an Appendix of two hundred pages, and twelve Sermons occupy the remainder of the volume.

We shall now lay before our readers, a very brief sketch of the history and character of these two excellent men, together with a few extracts, which may serve as recommendatory specimens of the contents of the Memoirs.

The Rev. David Brown was a native of Yorkshire, where his venerable parents are still living. He was early distinguished by the indications he gave of intelligence and piety, and he was indebted to his promising appearance, when only between ten and eleven years of age, for the result of a casual interview with a stranger, which appears to have decided his future fortunes. It is no unusual thing, to find the secular advancement of individuals distinguished in the annals of their country, turning upon what is termed a fortunate accident, a happy conjunction of talent and opportunity. But it is with peculiar feelings, that in perusing the life of a Christian and a Christian minister, from whose character and infinitely important exertions it is impossible to dissociate the idea of the plastic influence and the superintending providence of God, we trace in some such fortuitous disposition of events, the first intimations of the Divine purpose, which communicated to that insignificant casualty, the power of giving birth to a life-long chain of consequences the most beneficial to society. The stranger, struck with young Brown's intelligent inquiries, expressed his conviction that he was destined to a higher and more important profession than that for which his unambitious parents had designed him, and with their consent, liberally undertook to prepare him for a grammar school, with the further view of his being fitted for college. After enjoying the private tuition of this friend, he was accordingly removed to Hull, to attend the grammar school under the care of the Rev. Joseph Milner, between whom and the scholar a lasting attachment was formed ; and he subsequently entered upon his University studies at Magdalen College, Cambridge. ' From these he was unexpectedly called ' off by a remarkable and unforeseen offer made him of going ' to India.'

The particulars of this offer are given in the Appendix, and the circumstance affords the most decisive proof of Mr. Brown's elevated views and simplicity of purpose.

A Major in the East India Company's service, to whose very name he was an entire stranger, in consequence of being informed by a mutual friend, of Mr. Brown's benevolent ex-

ertions while at College, applied to him to undertake the superintendence of an institution recently formed at Bengal, for the protection and instruction of the orphans of indigent officers. The inducement held out, was, the opportunity of instilling into the minds of these young persons, many of whom would probably spend their lives among the heathen nations of India, the knowledge of salvation by Jesus Christ. Ten days were allowed Mr. Brown to give his definitive answer, and in two months he was to be ready, in case he accepted the offer, to sail for India. Mr. Brown had just recovered from a long indisposition, and he was strongly 'inclined to sit still and enjoy the tranquillity of college life, and the dear delights of pious and literary friendship there.' He resolved to leave the matter to the decision of three tried friends in the church, but not to accept it at any rate, unless he could first obtain ordination. The salary proved to be less than was at first stated: this had no influence upon his determination, and awakened no regret; but on his meeting with some obstacles to his ordination, he caught at them, as setting him at liberty to return to college and pursue his former plans. Those obstacles were however removed; the late bishop of Landaff consented to ordain him, and shewed him, Mr. Brown states, 'a truly pastoral regard.

'He knew my principles, my purposes, and my views; he conducted a long examination of me himself, and gave me much valuable advice, which has been a great comfort and support to me. His last words were, "Go in peace, and may the blessings of God go with you. Do all the good you can; and if it is no better for you in this world, it will be in the world to come."

The following characteristic letter was written by the Rev. Mr. Romaine, to Mr. Brown's parents, on this occasion.

"Your son is going to the East Indies, I trust by the direction of Providence, and with a good prospect of usefulness. If I had been of his age, I should have most gladly embraced such a call, as being, as far as we can judge, of God; and in his hand a likely means of spreading the knowledge of Jesus Christ, where He is not known at all by most of the natives, and very little by those who are not unacquainted with his name. You must therefore look upon your son as lent unto the Lord; and whatever may be the result, settle it in your hearts that all will be well. I commend you and your family, and your son especially, into the care and keeping of my good Lord, that he may be your guide unto death.

I am, your's, &c.

WM. ROMAINE."

Mr. Brown's Journal, during his unexpected detention for some months in England, was well worth preservation. It presents a most interesting transcript of his feelings in the

prospect of his important adventure; feelings partaking in some degree of the fluctuation of the spirits, yet characterized by an unusual steadiness of purpose and fortitude of mind. We transcribe a few sentences.

‘ My heart is broken off from relatives, friends, and country; but His understanding is infinite: be still my heart, suffer his great understanding to guide thee, and follow without reluctance or repining.

‘ Life will soon be over: it signifies little where I am, or whither I go; what dangers, perils, or comforts I meet with on my way to a better country—to heaven my home. Much less than a hundred years will put an end to sin, the cause of every pain: provided it shall be found I have served the Lord Jesus, it will not matter where; at London, or Calcutta.’

‘ Lord, make me thankful, patient, and faithful. I had better stay here, than go without the orders of thy Providence; I had better go, than resist them.’

‘ There is an aptness in us to misinterpret providential discouragements in our duty, as if they amounted to a discharge from our duty, when they are only intended for the exercise of our courage and faith.’

The following are too characteristic to be passed over.

‘ “ Behold the fowls of the air; consider the lilies of the field.” I wish to walk before the Lord *with simplicity of intention and simplicity of dependence*: at present I have but little in possession, and know not whence the next necessary supply must come. I am comforted with, “ Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.” ’

In the evening, after Mr. Brown had vented his feelings in this pious expression of his faith, a friend, who had borrowed of him a small sum, which Mr. Brown had entirely forgotten, returned it to him most unexpectedly and most seasonably. ‘ I am now to reside in Chelsea,’ he remarks soon after, ‘ and have very little money and food to provide for my wife and self: “ The Lord will provide.” For some time he appears to have continued under pecuniary difficulties, and we find him noticing with gratitude the receipt of a ten pound note, soon after he had parted with his last two shillings to a poor soldier whose wife lay in with twins, which he had just baptized. A spirit of calm and heavenly confidence pervades the brief notices in his Journal. At length his pecuniary anxieties were terminated by the Court of Directors advancing him three hundred guineas; and on the 19th of Nov. 1785, he sailed for India.

It is delightful to contemplate, in connexion with all this cheerfulness of dependence in poverty, that singular disinterestedness and liberality, by which Mr. Brown was so honourably distinguished through life. His could indeed be

no ordinary character, of which it formed one trait of excellence, that 'he more dreaded riches than most do poverty.' 'He had known,' remarks Mrs. Brown, 'in his own person, what it was to be under pecuniary difficulties, and he had repeatedly experienced the salutary benefit of timely succour.' This prompted him generously to sympathize with all whom he could relieve. He used to relate the anecdote of a person, who, when she had but little, gave cheerfully of that little; but when rich, said, "she had now something to take care of, and could afford to bestow no longer." And

'Under reduced circumstances, he still pleasantly quoted, in support of his taste for the pleasures of benevolence, an anecdote of the Rev. Mr. Adams, of Winteringham; who, when he had lost a cow, remarked, "Ah! if I do not give more—God will take more."' p. 109.

'It seemed,' remarks the individual who must best have known his character, 'as if riches was the only burden he knew not how to sustain. Hence, though he deemed it proper to lay up a moderate provision for old age, or a surviving family, yet he appeared for himself, to dread too much the fascinating power of accumulation, ever to enter steadily on the experiment.'

Possibly some of our readers may be almost incredulous of so remarkable a moral phenomenon, and may be curious to learn from Mr. Brown's own expressions, the secret reason of this singular apprehension. The following passage is extracted from a letter to a friend in 1802.

"— My prayer is now principally directed against the root of all evil, *the love of money*. It has cast off from me on the right hand and on the left, many of whom I hoped better things. Oh, when shall the Lord's people turn not again unto folly! There are few who do it not in one way or other; I have compassion, having myself also been tempted: but from what I have seen, I dread, particularly, the consequences of growing rich; not that I am in any danger of being so, but a very little money does the business. One thousand or ten thousand a year, is the same in operation. 'Give me neither poverty nor riches,' is a safe prayer; it is a prayer against riches, and as such I use it, though in no likelihood of becoming rich: if more come than occasion require, I trust I shall cast my bread upon the waters; the Lord help me so to do!" pp. 297, 298.

We return to Mr. Brown's Journal, which he continued at sea. During the voyage, we find him adverting, in the act of writing, to an alarm of fire in the fore-part of the ship, and composedly reflecting that 'neither the fire nor the water can touch us till our Lord commission them.'

On the 13th of Feb. occurs a devout reference in the Journal, to the revolution in his circumstances, to which the preceding

year had given birth, which had taken him away from his Cambridge friends, whom he terms 'the idols of his heart,' but conferred on him the blessings of a beloved wife and a son.

The following remark strikes us as deserving of transcription; it occurs on the occasion of some objections against the Christian scheme, which he had to combat.

'God's *sovereignty* puts aside human merit, as in the case of Jacob and the Israelites. And God's *mercy* renders man inexcusable, by proclaiming, "Ask, and ye shall receive."'

On the 8th of June 1786, he writes, 'At six o'clock landed with my dear family at the Orphan House.' Mr. Brown had particularly wished to sail in the *Halsewell*, and actually applied to obtain a passage in her. This was another instance of that Divine superintendence, on which his faith habitually reposed, and by which his life was so remarkably, because so obviously attended. The *Halsewell*, we need not remind our readers, was lost.

'Immediately on his arrival at Calcutta in 1786, writes his biographer, he found himself in a most responsible situation, at the head of an extensive Orphan establishment, which demanded and received all his zeal, perseverance, and affection. Within a few days of his arrival, he was nominated chaplain to a brigade in Fort William. The following year, he superadded to these duties, the charge, which he voluntarily undertook, with the approbation of his brother chaplains, of the Mission Church. Thus did he work in the full tide of his strength, officiating at each of these distant points in succession every Sunday.

'On separating from the Orphan Institution he received private pupils into his own house, the education of youth being, next to the public ministry of the word of God, that line of usefulness to which he was most attached. His domestic school was much in request; and besides his own, he paid great attention, as inspecting visitor, to one then supported by the old charity fund, but now combined with the free school of Calcutta. He likewise statedly attended the hospital and gaol, to impart religious instruction. At the latter place particularly, he was, as he had been in England, remarkably blessed to the awakening and unfeigned repentance of hardened convicts, of whom he was accustomed to give touching and instructive narratives.

'On his appointment in 1794 to the Chaplaincy of the Presidency, his work became still more increased. He continued in charge of the garrison; and was always unwilling to think that new accessions of duty exonerated him from any former engagements. Accordingly, he continued to officiate on Sundays twice to the Mission congregation, once at the Garrison, and once at the Presidency church; beside establishing a weekly lecture, and catechetical instruction of children; which last he deemed an object of the greatest importance.'

pp. 8—10.

Of Mr. Brown's appointment, in 1800, to the Provostship of the college of Fort William, we shall have occasion to speak in our notice of Dr. Buchanan's life. From the year 1800 his public labours became of necessity, owing to his increasing infirmities, of a more circumscribed and private character. He was, however, the first whom the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as the Church Mission Society, invited to be their corresponding Secretary in India, 'and he exerted for them the same ardour of spirit which had characterized him 'in the cause of the Christian faith;' his labours being alike indefatigable and gratuitous. Indeed, in the year 1787, the very year after he went to Calcutta, 'before the great Missionary Societies or the Bible Society had been thought 'of,' he drew up, in conjunction with two other friends, a "Proposal for establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bahar," in which he strenuously urged the claims of the natives on our Government, and recommended the measure of translating the Scriptures into the different languages of the East. All his efforts were, however, ineffectual, to obtain attention to the object; but he lived to see the work begun by other agents, and to take part in the glorious work which had so early awakened his solicitude.

One more interesting trait of this eminent servant of Christ deserves to be particularly recorded, as it evinces his great simplicity of motive and intention. Mrs. Brown assures us, that

'it was the habit of his mind to give as great attention to each successive object which presented itself in the form of a duty, as if that solely engrossed all his earnestness and anxiety. And yet, when called by the same Providence who gave, to resign the object in pursuit, he did it as entirely, without casting "one longing, lingering look behind," as though it had scarce ever excited his solicitude.
pp. 15, 16.

The volume contains some very interesting particulars of the moral state of Christian Society in India, at the period of Mr. Brown's arrival, for which we must refer our readers to the work itself. Among the extracts from his correspondence, there is given a circumstantial account of the last days of Sir William Jones. There is also a letter from the late Rev. Mr. Cecil to the Rev. John Owen, now Chaplain General; and another valuable as a literary remain, from the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to Yuseph Emin, an Armenian of Calcutta. An Epitaph chosen by Mr. Brown for his first-born child, is given at page 18, which the Editor does not appear to be aware, was written by the late Robert Robinson. It is to be found in Chesterton Churchyard, near Cambridge. Many of our readers will recognise it by the first line:

'Bold infidelity, turn pale and die.'

Of the Sermons we do not consider it as necessary to give any critical opinion.

We have now to trace the outlines of a different character ; a man, in whom there certainly were some elements of a capacity for greatness ; who, if his powers of achievement had been adequate to his spirit of enterprise, had his physical energy been equal to his ambition, and had occasion afforded full scope, and his strict notions of ecclesiastical order opposed no limit to his native ardour and loftiness of mind, would have rendered the name of Claudius Buchanan still more illustrious than it is, in the Annals of British India.

Claudius Buchanan was born at Cambuslang, near Glasgow, in 1766. At the age of seven years, he was sent to the grammar school at Inverary, and when he had but just completed his fourteenth year, was appointed by a gentleman, tutor to his two sons. In the year 1782, he left this family, in order to pursue his studies in the University of Glasgow, where, at the age of seventeen, he conceived the romantic design of making the tour of Europe, like Goldsmith, on foot. It was not, however, till nearly four years afterwards, that the unfavourable issue of an imprudent attachment to a lady superior to himself in birth and fortune, determined him to prosecute his long cherished design. The following account was given by Mr. Buchanan himself, of the natural termination of this ill-planned adventure.

“ I had the example of the celebrated Dr. Goldsmith before me, who travelled through Europe on foot, and supported himself by playing on his flute. I could play a little on the violin, and on this I relied for occasional support during my long and various travels. “ In August 1787, having put on plain clothes, becoming my apparent situation, I left Edinburgh on foot with the intention of travelling to London, and thence to the continent : that very violin which I now have, and the case which contains it, I had under my arm, and thus I travelled onward. After I had proceeded some days on my journey, and had arrived at a part of the country where I thought I could not be known, I called at gentlemen’s houses, and farm-houses, where I was in general kindly lodged. They were very well pleased with my playing reels to them, (for I played them better than I can now,) and I sometimes received five shillings, sometimes half a crown, and sometimes nothing but my dinner. Wherever I went, people seemed to be struck a little by my appearance, particularly if they entered into conversation with me. They were often very inquisitive, and I was sometimes at a loss what to say. I professed to be a musician travelling through the country for his subsistence : but this appeared very strange to some, and they wished to know where I obtained my learning ; for sometimes pride, and sometimes accident would call forth expressions, in the course of conversation, which excited their surprise. I was often invited to stay for some time at a particular place ; but

VOL. VII. 3 A

“ this I was afraid of, lest I might be discovered. It was near a
“ month, I believe, before I arrived on the borders of England, and
“ in that time many singular occurrences befel me. I once or twice
“ met persons whom I had known, and narrowly escaped discovery.
“ Sometimes I had nothing to eat, and had no where to rest at night;
“ but, notwithstanding, I kept steady to my purpose, and pursued my
“ journey. Before, however, I reached the borders of England, I
“ would gladly have returned, but I could not; the die was cast;
“ my pride would have impelled me to suffer death, I think, rather
“ than to have exposed my folly; and I pressed forward.

“ “ When I arrived at Newcastle, I felt tired of my long journey,
“ and found that it was indeed hard to live on the benevolence of
“ others: I therefore resolved to proceed to London by water; for I
“ did not want to travel in my own country, but on the continent.

“ “ I accordingly embarked in a collier at North Shields, and sailed
“ for London. On the third night of the voyage we were in danger
“ of being cast away, during a gale of wind; and then, for the first
“ time, I began to reflect seriously on my situation.”

“ During the violence of the storm, as he afterwards acknowledged
to a friend, Mr. Buchanan felt as if the judgement of God, as in the
case of Jonah, was overtaking him; but, unlike the repenting Prophet,
no sooner had the tempest of the elements subsided, than the agitation
of his mind also passed away. He arrived safely in London on the
second of September: “ but by this time,” he continues, in one of the
letters referred to, “ my spirits were nearly exhausted by distress and
“ poverty. I now relinquished every idea of going abroad. I saw
“ such a visionary scheme in its true light, and resolved, if possible,
“ to procure some situation, as an usher or clerk, or any employment,
“ whereby I might derive a subsistence: but I was unsuccessful. I
“ lived some time, in obscure lodgings, by selling my clothes and
“ books; for I did not attempt to obtain any assistance by my skill
“ in music, lest I should be discovered by some persons who might
“ know me or my family. I was in a short time reduced to the
“ lowest extreme of wretchedness and want. Alas! I had not some-
“ times bread to eat. Little did my mother think, when she dreamt,
“ that she saw her son fatigued with his wanderings, and oppressed
“ with a load of woe, glad to lie down, and sleep away his cares on a
“ little straw, that her dream was so near the truth! What a reverse
“ of fortune was this! A few months before, I lived in splendour and
“ happiness! But even in this extremity of misery my eyes were not
“ opened. I saw indeed my folly, but I saw not my sin: my pride
“ even then was unsubdued, and I was constantly anticipating scenes
“ of future grandeur, and indulging myself in the pleasures of the
“ imagination.

“ “ After I had worn out many months in this misery, observing one
“ day an advertisement in a newspaper, for a ‘ clerk to an attorney,’
“ I offered myself, and was accepted. I was much liked, and soon
“ made friends. I then obtained a better situation with another
“ gentleman in the law, and, lastly, engaged with a solicitor of
“ respectable character and connections in the city, with whom I
“ remained nearly three years. During all this time I had sufficient

“allowance to appear as a gentleman; my desire for going abroad gradually abated, and I began to think that I should make the law my profession for life.” pp. 8—12.

It is not improbable that this premature explosion of our hero's youthful energies, exhausted in some degree the physical ardour of his character, and intimidated, at least for the time, his sanguine disposition. In the year 1790, Buchanan, whose conduct had hitherto been lamentably at variance with that sense of religion which he had imbibed from education, was first effectually impressed, by means of conversation with a friend, with a concern for salvation. By the recommendation of his pious mother, he then went to hear, and subsequently introduced himself to the venerable John Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London. Mr. Newton interested himself in the welfare of the young stranger, with his characteristic warmth of benevolence, and in him Buchanan found an enlightened and faithful counsellor, and a steady friend. The total change thus superinduced in Buchanan's views and feelings, gave rise to a determination, which his venerable friend was forward to approve, to relinquish the study of the law, and to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel, for which his parents had once designed him. For the accomplishment of this newly awakened desire to enter the Church, he was indebted to the munificent kindness of the late estimable Henry Thornton, Esq. who determined to send him to the university of Cambridge, at his own expense.

We pass over the details of Mr. Buchanan's college employments and correspondence; they serve, however, to evince the solid character and sincerity of his piety. In 1794, Mr. Newton made him the first direct proposal of a voyage to India; the manner in which he received it, though it does great credit to his diffidence and humility, shews that ‘the *ardour* which he had formerly evinced to enter into the ministry, without much academical preparation,’ was indeed sensibly abated. He referred the decision implicitly to Mr. Newton, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Grant. Only, he thought it necessary to intimate his opinion, that ‘as strict attention ought to be paid to human means in our endeavours to promote the success of the Gospel, as if it were merely a human dispensation.’

‘I once,’ he writes, ‘thought myself prepared for the Church! shudder at my temerity. A zeal, (if zeal it may be called,) without knowledge,’ must have dictated this unhallowed confidence. In one sense, indeed, any one to whom God has given his grace may enter the Church, however ignorant or unfit in other matters; inasmuch as all success in it comes from God.’

Vol. I. p. 103.

Mr. Buchanan does not make clear what he means by 'in one sense' and 'in an other sense:' he thought, however, 'that too little attention was paid to the prejudices of the age against the illiterate methodist.' These expressions, together with some crude remarks on Enthusiasm at page 124, seem to indicate, that he had met with persons at Cambridge not quite so well informed as his venerable friend Mr. Newton, as to the state of religion in the country, and not quite so liberal in their sentiments. What must have been Mr. Buchanan's astonishment at a subsequent period, at witnessing the temerity of the zeal, the fanaticism of the confidence, which led a few illiterate Baptists to attempt the conversion of the heathen in India, and to give the Bible in all the dialects of Babel! The name of Carey, the shoemaker, is not eclipsed by that of any academic orientalist.

A remark occurs at page 111, which we transcribe for the sake of its coincidence with the sentiments expressed in an article in our last Number.

'Perhaps,' says Mr. Buchanan, 'the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton is correct, that anti-christian superstition is only to be eradicated by the strong hand of infidelity. It may be agreeable to Providence, to permit infidel armies to ravage the world, to destroy superstition, and then to strew with *Bibles* the vacant lands.'

How melancholy is it to contemplate the hydra putting forth her hundred heads again!

Early in the year 1796, Mr. Buchanan's friends recurred to the plan of obtaining for him the appointment of a chaplaincy in the service of the East India Company, which appointment he received on the 30th of March in that year, and on the 11th of August he embarked for Bengal, accredited by a letter of recommendation to the Rev. David Brown, from no less important a personage than the Rev. Dr. Gaskin, Secretary to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. He landed at Calcutta on the 10th of March following, two days before the completion of his thirty-first year.

Here, however, he was doomed to experience a disappointment, the result of unforeseen arrangements, which seems to have palsied for the time all his energies, and overwhelmed him with despondency. He found himself consigned to a total seclusion from active duty, at a military station at Barrackpore, sixteen miles above Calcutta. Mr. Pearson gravely remarks, that 'this retirement afforded him a valuable opportunity for private study;' but this was not exactly the purpose for which Mr. Buchanan undertook a voyage to the Indies, and the effect of this cruel exile, combined with the influence of an enervating climate, was most pernicious. 'This, Sir,' writes Mr. Buchanan, 'is a climate which tries the mind like a furnace. De-

'terioration seems inherent in Indian existence.' To Mr. Grant he writes,

" "I seem to have come out under rather unfavourable auspices. No feature of my mission is very agreeable. But I view the whole as the counsel of the Almighty; and I know that in his plan there is great beauty, though I may not perceive it.

" "I have passed this last year in military society, or in solitude. And as I shall shortly be stationed up the country, I cannot expect any material change during life. But if I rightly improve the opportunities I may have, I shall do well. What I lament most is, the effect this inactive life has on my mind. You will not be surprised if both my moral and intellectual powers suffer by it. The climate no doubt has its effect in this hebetation of the soul; and I hope I shall recover from it in time.

" "I suffered a long struggle before I could resign myself passively to my unexpected destination. But the struggle is now over; and I view myself as one who has run his race; to whom little more is left to do. I have known some, who, in such a case, would have extricated themselves with violence, and sought a new fortune in the Gospel. But it will require a very evident interposition of God indeed to bring me out of this Egypt, now that he has placed me in it; I shall esteem myself highly favoured, if I be enabled to pass my days in it, with a pure conscience, endeavouring to do a little, where much cannot be done."

pp 152, 153.

Mr. Buchanan's conduct under these circumstances, was influenced by a determination 'not to step beyond the prescribed limits of his duty as a military chaplain.' His biographer intimates his hope, that the narrative may 'serve to check in any who may be similarly situated, either abroad or at home, the too natural disposition to despondency or haste.' A serious illness, however, soon after threatened to affect still more permanently Mr Buchanan's capacities of usefulness. From this he slowly recovered, but the spring and tone of his feelings seemed to be destroyed. We find him speaking 'in terms of much commendation' of the Baptist missionaries, Messrs. Thomas and Carey; but his own expectations respecting the conversion of the Hindoos, were at this period, very faint indeed. Some of his remarks are, however, highly judicious.

" "I wish not that any prudential considerations from what *has been*, or from what may *probably* be, should check the missionary ardour of the day. Nothing great since the beginning of the world has been done, it is said, without enthusiasm. I am, therefore, well pleased to see multitudes of serious persons, big with hope, and apt to communicate; for I think it will further the Gospel. Instead of thirty missionaries, I wish they could transport three hundred. They can do little harm, and may do some good. But let them send as many children as possible, or those

“ who may have children. They will do more good by and by than
 “ their parents. No man turned of thirty can learn to speak a new
 “ language well. No Englishman turned of twenty, who is only
 “ acquainted with the labials and dentals of his mother-tongue, can
 “ ever acquire an easy and natural use of the nasals and gutturals of
 “ the Bengal language. Send, therefore, old men to take care of
 “ the morals of the young; and send the young to convert the
 “ heathen.” pp. 165, 166.

Of the Hindoos, Mr. Buchanan gives the following opinion.

“ “ Must I say something of the natives? Their general character
 “ is imbecility of body, and imbecility of mind. Their moral powers
 “ are and have been for ages in a profound stupor; and there is
 “ seldom an instance of their being awakened. A partial attempt,
 “ or rather experiment, is now making on them by some Christian
 “ teachers. The Hindoo mind seems at present to be bound by
 “ a Satanic spell; and it will require the co-operation of a more
 “ than human power to break it. But Divine co-operation implies
 “ human endeavour. Many ages must then elapse before the con-
 “ version of India is accomplished.

“ “ With respect to moral action, the Hindoos pay as little at-
 “ tention to their own religion as a rule of life, as the English do
 “ to theirs. Your profession of the Christian religion is a proverbial
 “ jest throughout the world.”’ p. 177.

“ “ A residence in this country adds much to the personal dignity
 “ of the European. Here the labour of a multitude is demanded
 “ for the comfort of one: and it is not so much demanded as volun-
 “ tarily given. In no other country can we so well see the ho-
 “ mage which matter gives to mind. Generally, however, it is
 “ but the homage which black pays to white. This is the grand
 “ argument for keeping the Hindoos in a state of mental depression.
 “ The hyperborean Scotchman, broiling under a perpendicular sun,
 “ needs some *levamina laborum*; and the state of the Hindoo minds
 “ is admirably calculated to take care of our *bodies*.

“ “ You know the character of the Hindoo superstition. It is
 “ lascivious and bloody. I know no epithet that embraces so much
 “ of it as either of these two. Of the first I shall say nothing:
 “ I shall not pollute the page with a description of their caprine
 “ orgies in the interior of their temples, nor the emblems engraved
 “ on the exterior.”’ p. 178.

Mr. Buchanan adverts in one of his letters, to the failure of the mission to Otaheite, and expresses his hope that it would not *discourage* the Missionary Societies.

“ They have done,” he says, “ no harm; and if they send out their next mission with less carnal éclat, and more Moravian diffidence, they may perhaps do some good. Their chief fault was in the selection of the men. It appears, that most of them were weak, and most of them novices.”

At length, towards the close of the year 1799, the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Mornington, (on the enlightened policy

and beneficial effects of whose administration, these volumes furnish the most ample illustration,) appointed Mr. Buchanan a third Chaplain to the Presidency, and he immediately entered upon the duties of his office.

In the following year, his Lordship desired Mr. Buchanan to draw out a sketch of the constitution of the college which he was intent upon founding at Fort William, for the instruction of the young civil servants of the company in eastern literature and general learning. Of this college, the Rev. Mr. Brown, as we have had occasion to notice, was appointed Provost, and Mr. Buchanan, Vice-provost. Mr. Pearson gives us an abstract of the general reasons upon which the Marquis Wellesley proceeded in the formation of this important institution, as detailed in a minute in council: they reflect the highest honour on his Lordship's sagacity. 'Lord Wellesley,' writes Mrs. Buchanan to a friend in England, 'seems inclined to support the Christian religion by *every* means.'

We now find Mr. B. in a station which rekindled all his ardour, deeply interested his feelings, and demanded his utmost talents and exertions. He now preached at one of the churches in Calcutta once, and sometimes twice, on the Sunday. In his capacity as Vice-provost, with which was united the classical professorship, the superintendence and practical government of the college, principally devolved upon him; besides which, he had to attend to his lectures, an extensive correspondence, and a multiplicity of occasional engagements. His assiduity and diligence were most exemplary; they were prompted by a pure spirit of devotedness to the Gospel, which manifested itself in a constant dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of his own exertions. 'One thing urges me,' he writes, 'to press forward with hope; and that is, that all I hear, and all I say, appears to be so very unlike what it ought to be, that I imagine something better might be attempted.' Perhaps there was a mixture of morbid feeling in this restlessness and dissatisfaction. It is remarkable, that in the midst of his indefatigable labours, he confesses, that he did not know he ever had what Christians call 'zeal.' 'I recollect,' he says, 'that I expected it would grow, when I entered the ministry, but I had scarcely entered the ministry, and preached a few times, when I was sent to this country.' There, imprisoned in a military station, and fettered by a chaplaincy, he was, indeed, placed in circumstances not favourable to the vigorous expansion of his enthusiasm. But if he had not, what it may seem a paradox to say he had not, the feeling of zeal, in which exertions like his usually originate; if he was not susceptible of that warmth of emotion which makes action pleasureable, communicating such an impulse to the mind, that,

' though the mouth be rude in speech, the full heart becomes ' vocal, and utters " the word in season ;"' the strength and consistency of his principles, and the noble elevation of his character, were but the more fully evinced by this circumstance,— that he had to toil through all his performances with ' a languid ' and heartless constitution,' as he himself describes it, ' both ' in body and mind, which made him bear easily with all things, ' and have little pleasure in any thing.' He gave a most amiable proof of the genuine excellence of his character, when in the year 1802, his income being now considerably augmented, he authorized his aged mother to draw upon his agents for three hundred pounds annually, and further, when he remitted to his early patron Mr. H. Thornton, four hundred pounds, as the amount of what he had expended on Mr. Buchanan's account during his residence at college. ' He never expected ' that I should repay him,' he says, ' but God has put it in ' my power, and therefore it is my duty.' In addition to this sum, he resolved to devote five hundred pounds to the support of a young man at the University, of religious character and good ability, who might be in the circumstances of poverty in which he had once himself been placed. These were traits of a truly Christian generosity of principle.

The extensive institution at Fort William, which reflected so much honour on the enlightened and noble policy of its illustrious founder, had from the first been viewed with jealousy, and even disapprobation, by the Court of Directors. It appears that mean suspicions, or at least very inadequate notions, were entertained as to the real object of the institution, although the reasons assigned for its reduction were purely of a financial nature. The plans proposed by the Court, which were to supersede it, were miserably inefficient and impolitic. An attention to the interests of religion and morality, formed no part of them, and, accordingly, the consequence of their being made known among the students at Fort William, was a gradual relaxation in their attendance on Divine service. The signal was considered as given by the order for the abolition of the college, for a return to ' the old system of relaxed morals ' and contracting debt ;' and thus, what Dr. Buchanan declares to have been ' the honest purpose of Marquis Wellesley to do ' good in India,' was in a great measure frustrated.

We must, however, refer our readers to Mr. Pearson's narrative, for further details on this subject. We must also forbear to enter at large upon Mr. Buchanan's labours to obtain the extension of the ecclesiastical establishment to India. His views in earnestly recommending this measure, were, we are convinced, purely patriotic ; and the general arguments he made use of, to shew the necessity of conveying spiritual instruc-

tion to the natives, were admirable; '*The toleration of all religions, and the zealous extension of our own,*' he remarks, '*is the way to rule and preserve a conquered kingdom.*' 'If the Scriptures be from God, we do not,' he adds, 'deserve at his hand to retain possession of this "paradise of nations" a year longer; so greatly have we abused this sacred trust.' 'The natives,' he describes as 'a mixed multitude, who have no common sentiment of truth or falsehood, right or wrong. Every man contradicts his neighbour; and the European tells them they are all right.' But as to the necessity of having 'an Archbishop in India;' as to the *Christian* policy of 'placing the mitre on any head,' so long as a mitre was obtained, under the idea that the mitre would itself do good among the Hindoos, and that 'a spiritual bishop would appear in due time;' as to the advantage, in fact, of any other species of establishment of religion, than the protection of the preachers of the Gospel from the hostility and interference of *Christian* infidels, we must profess our decided dissatisfaction with Mr. Buchanan's style of reasoning. If he thought, as his biographer deems it probable he did think, that the 'cunning testimony of history as to the connexion between the profession and establishment of a religion by the governing power in a state, and its progressive influence among the people, was sufficiently known and acknowledged to authorize a general assertion' to that effect, it only shews that on this subject, his views of Christianity partook more of the wisdom of the politician, than of the spirituality of the Gospel.

Some temporary advantage in respect of the maintenance of outward decency of deportment, would naturally follow the investiture of the Christian ministry with the symbols of secular power; yet not so extensive even in this respect would be the influence of such a measure, as the impressive sanction of private example in the person of the chief magistrate. Individual zeal and individual piety, would, either by the means, or without the aid, of episcopal authority, produce its genuine effects upon society, but the futility of ecclesiastical schemes, apart from the energies of individual character, have been uniformly manifested, so soon as that scheme has been left to operate by itself as a political engine,—in other words, so soon as the influence of political patronage has begun to supersede the necessity of religious qualifications in the Christian minister. In all the branches of colonial establishments, there is great danger of corruption and abuse creeping in and vitiating the administration of government, in consequence of that administration being less under the control of public opinion, and because less nicety of selection is generally observed in the appointment of persons to sustain responsible offices. But

the danger of deterioration attaches more especially to the ecclesiastical branches of such establishments; inasmuch as the control of public opinion is still more feeble than in the case of the civil functionary. In America, our episcopal establishment was fast sinking into degradation, owing to the refuse character of the exported clergy, when the revolution took place; and even now, it is in the Episcopal church that religion is at the lowest ebb in the United States, and that, while the erection of fresh edifices is going forward, the church itself is almost in ruins.

We trust that the result of the experiment of an establishment in India, will be widely different. This will depend upon two things, zeal and toleration; the tacit countenancing of all attempts, however *extra-ecclesiastical* they may be deemed, to advance the propagation of the Gospel, and the endeavour to keep pace with these attempts by simultaneous exertion. Sincerely do we hope, that the spirit of enlightened policy may so far prevail, as to allow of this blessed consummation.

The remaining volume of these Memoirs, is occupied with details of Dr. Buchanan's journey, in 1806, to the coast of Malabar, and his visit to the Syrian churches; with an account of his second visit to the coast in the following year, and his return to England in 1808; and with the history of his subsequent labours. The volume is highly valuable and interesting, but Dr. Buchanan's "*Christian Researches*" and other publications, have already put the public in possession of much of the information it comprises. The character which Mr. Pearson has given of the subject of his memoir, is marked by candour and discrimination; no one will dispute the justness of the eulogy which he pronounces, on his 'distinguished worth, genuine piety, and enlarged and active philanthropy.'

We need not add any thing in formal recommendation of the work. Although, as a biographical composition, it is not of the very first order of literary excellence, it is in every point of view highly respectable, and will form a most acceptable and a permanent addition to the stores of ecclesiastical biography.

Art. IX. *Serious Warnings addressed to various Classes of Persons.*
By J. Thornton. 12mo. pp. 144. Price 2s. 6d. Baynes, 1817.

MR. THORNTON anticipates that an objection will be brought against this little volume, on account of the undisguised and *direct* nature of its addresses to the conscience, *Serious warnings!* What persons in the present day would bear being approached by a work of so ominous a title? The Christian teacher, in these times of general cultivation, must

find a passage to the conscience, through mediums more adapted to the taste, more conciliatory to the prejudices of the heart, than so unattractive, so dry, so obsolete a method of conveying religious instruction as this. Mr. Thornton, however, contends, that different modes are suited to different classes of individuals; that 'after all that can be said in favour of gentle insinuation, 'there are many who like to be'—at any rate, he might have added, there are some who *must* be—'dealt with openly and 'faithfully.'

'Those,' he remarks, 'who prefer the mild and circuitous methods above noticed, have no great reason in our age to complain, as thousands are continually making attempts of this kind. Religion is diffused from the press in all the varied and engaging forms, which prose or poetry can assume. We have essays and tales, allegories and anecdotes, memoirs and miscellanies, slightly or richly seasoned with divine truth, so as to gratify a diversity of tastes. Even the complex machinery of the Novelist has been borrowed, to weave the doctrines and duties of Christianity into a texture, which shall fascinate by its splendour and beauty. We have some cause to fear, lest the imagination should be too much courted, and lest a turn for light reading should be produced by industriously spreading works of this description.' p. x.

There is, certainly, room for this apprehension; but after all, every form of address, every method must be made use of. We believe, experience is in favour of no exclusive mode of popular address, and that among the Tracts which have obtained the most extensive circulation, and been approved the most useful, the solemn warning, and the pathetic cottage tale, may vie with each other for the pre-eminence. It is upon the qualities of the style, upon the adaptation of the phraseology and reasoning to the understandings and habits of the lower classes, rather than upon the subject, that the probability of success depends. And who that has been accustomed to witness the effects of the distribution of such works, has not found that religious impressions of the most salutary nature, have often been produced by methods apparently the most unlikely, by efforts the most hopeless, and under circumstances which served powerfully to shew, that the efficiency of any efforts must be ascribed to other causes than the quality of the means employed?

We have no doubt that Mr. Thornton has had that experience, as a Christian minister, in the business of popular instruction, that has led him to adopt this method of appeal to the conscience, from a conviction of its practical advantages. These addresses are not particularly designed for the lower orders: they are however plain, judicious, and affectionate. They are addressed to six different classes: the lovers of vain pleasure; the profane and profligate; the worldly minded; the self-righteous; the negligent

and dilatory; and, apostates and backsliders. Each of these addresses may be had separate, in the form of a single tract.

The Author is too well known to the religious public, to render it necessary for us to give any specimen of the work; but we transcribe the following hints from the Preface, as highly deserving of attention.

‘ May I be allowed in this place, to say a few words on the practice of giving away religious books? It is certainly an easy and commendous way of doing good. It is, to use the prophet’s language, sowing beside all waters, and if only some of the grain spring up and bear thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold, the harvest will be crowned with joy. I have repeatedly seen the happy effects attending the liberal distribution of pious books. I would advise those who expend part of their property in this manner, always to read themselves what they design to give to others, thus they will be satisfied as to the choice they make. Should you after perusing these warnings with such a view, think them unsuitable, you may find many small books which will answer your purpose. Were a fire to break out in the neighbourhood, would you not promptly carry water to quench it; or if you wanted ability, cheerfully lend a bucket to some more active and vigorous hand? Now sin has kindled a fire which must either be extinguished, or it will burn to the lowest hell. Doubtless it will be admitted, that we all ought to use every possible means to rescue men from ruin. He who converteth a sinner from the error of his way, saves a soul from death. How many will have cause to bless God through eternity, that some such work as Allein’s *Alarm*, Baxter’s *Saints’ Rest*, Beveridge’s *Private Thoughts*, Doddridge’s *Rise and Progress*, or the *Life of Colonel Gardiner*, was put into their hands by a kind friend or a pious neighbour. Indeed those who are disposed to do good in this way, may readily procure at a cheap price a vast variety of suitable books. Burder’s *Village Sermons*, Scott’s *Essays*, and *Force of Truth*, and the interesting productions of many other living writers, have not only gained a wide circulation, but have also proved remarkably useful. I shall take this opportunity of going a step lower, and warmly recommend the distribution of religious tracts; a method of diffusing knowledge and promoting piety, never understood or adopted till of late, and yet its importance is neither fully known, nor duly appreciated. A worthy and zealous minister, who wrote about one hundred and fifty years since, after earnestly exhorting the rich to give away good books, says, “for the price of one luxurious meal, you may bestow a book upon a poor man, which will prove a treasure to him, and when he dies, be left as a valuable legacy to the family.”’ pp. xiii—xv.

Art. X. *The House of Mourning, a Poem*: With some smaller Pieces. By John Scott. 8vo. pp. xi, 75. Price 5s. 6d. Taylor and Hessey. 1817.

WE are sometimes led to wonder, what pleasure persons of real sensibility can take, in making the public the confidant of their most secret and sacred emotions, and in inviting the cold eye of the world to gaze upon the long-drawn procession of their griefs. Is sorrow necessarily an egotist? Is there really so much vanity blended with the purest affections of the heart, that it is soothing to indulge, even amid the pangs of bereavement, in proclaiming the value, and magnitude, and excellence of that which once was ours, and in the very loss of which we feel to have the prerogative of a possessor? What is the meaning of the funereal pageant, and the pompous cenotaph, with which we please ourselves in honouring the memory of those who were dear to us? We cannot bear, it should seem, the idea, that the objects of our affection should live and pass away, our enjoyments and our losses should go forward, and transactions so all-important to our particular selves, silently take place, without exciting any notice from the world, without leaving any record. We can ill sustain, under the engrossing agitation of painful emotions, the consciousness which is sometimes forced upon us, of the utter insignificance of individual man with all his private interests,—of the exceedingly contracted circle to which self can communicate the effect, or the remotest intimations, of what it thinks, and feels, and acts, and suffers. It is *then*, that the indifference of the world presents itself in the harshest contrast to the intensity of our own emotions; when rendered the most keenly sensible of the insufficiency of ourselves, when staggering under the weakness of our nature, as that on which we were leaning is withdrawn, we find we must stand alone, and bear the whole weight of our feelings, denied even the homage of sympathy from the busy multitude, who see nothing peculiar in what has befallen us; so that all our sufferings cannot obtain for us the poor consolation of distinction.

Kirke White has said, in one of the most beautiful of his Poems,

‘I would not be a leaf to die
Without recording Sorrow’s sigh.’

Nor is it without apang superadded to that which the loss occasions, that we are doomed to witness by our selves, the otherwise unnoticed disappearance of any thing we valued. Who has not experienced an inexpressible emotion of pensiveness, as, in the utter stillness of solitude, he has seemed to hear leaf after leaf descend and mingle with the layers of leaves of former years spread through the forest, and thought that his single eye

alone recorded their fall, and, as he transferred for the moment human consciousness to the leaf, applied its fate to his own?

Perhaps, there is something better than vanity in this effort to call attention to our individual interests and sorrows. It is because we wish to rescue from utter annihilation that which has become a shadow, and because so long as the object survives in the regrets and the remembrance of those around us, in the emblematic pageant or the more lasting memorials of grief, in the monument or the monody, its existence seems still a reality, that we thus imploringly call in the aid of the world that cannot feel for us, to countenance the fond deception. We are willing that the agony of separation should be perpetuated, rather than that the impression which causes it should fade from the mind, and, with that impression, all that is left to us of the object we are called to resign. Compared with the horrors of that forgetfulness which rests upon the past, all the pain of endurance is pleasureable. This makes us love to brood upon the thought that wounds us, and give to that thought a bodily expression in stone or marble, or, as we flatter ourselves, more lasting monumental verse. It is not possible, perhaps, to separate altogether vanity from this operation of the mind, but it is that natural, inoffensive, pleading vanity, which it would be cruelty to look coldly upon. The world, however, to which the appeal is made, is niggard of its sympathy, and will not be charmed to bestow on individual feelings and sufferings a disproportionate attention, unless those feelings are made eloquent by genius; unless the intellectual rank of the sufferer, as conspicuous in the splendour and power which imagination brings to deck out the scene, confers a species of consequence and distinction upon his personal character.

Mr. Scott is assuredly possessed of genius, although his genius has evidently not been trained, by the habit of poetical composition, to correctness or facility. He has more force of thought than skill in expression. The principal poem in this publication, bears internal marks of its having originated, as the Author describes, in the strong inspiration of emotion, which both produced the effort of mind, and gave it this unaccustomed direction. It was the picture, it seems, of his deceased boy, that gave birth to the resolve 'to sing of it,' and which

'Set the spirit seeking—not to find.'

The child died at Paris, in his way with his parents to Italy, and has a foreign grave. Under this circumstance, 'they have felt inclined to venture the present publication, as a monument of the dead, sufficient to preserve them from experiencing the cold and wounding idea of total estrangement.'

The poem is the more natural, as it is wholly desultory: the thoughts follow each other by the mere association of feel-

ing. Of such a production, however, we can speak only in general: it is written with more vigour than care, but it contains passages of the most touching description, and natural pathos. We give a specimen nearly at random.

' Fathers, and mothers! this is what we lost:
Hopes are all wither'd, purposes all crost;
A moment's thunder-clap, and he has perished!
And villain Time will savagely demolish
Death's leavings,—cracking his fine forehead's polish,
And breaking-up the frame we nurs'd and cherished!

But this is not yet done:—
There still remains, though in the grave, **OUR SON**;
His limbs are cold, but they are perfect still!
Sure not a creature yet hath pierc'd its way
To make commencement on his precious clay,—
On him we could not save, to have its will.
Cold rains have fallen; he lies dark and damp,
While we sit dully round our fireside lamp:
Ah! he'd have edg'd himself a place
To let it shine upon his happy face!
That happy face, so mild, and fair,—
Oh, Paul!—our love, our ceaseless care!

Now, then, is the dismal but fit season,—
While yet he is, but is not here,—
To abjure forgetfulness, as heinous treason
To him I stretch'd upon the bier:
In the devotion of our broken spirits,
We swear to think upon his merits:
No change of fortune shall perplex us,
No other loss shall ever vex us;
Each living look, howe'er respected,
Shall be with his last look connected,
And all that seem'd worth counting on
Shall but remind us he is gone.
When conversation takes a flow,
We'll shuddering think of his pallid lips;
And when the sunshine spreads a glow,
We'll think how dreary death's eclipse,—
When it falls on the tender flowers of the earth,
Dear in their natures, and fair from their birth!
Life must run on, and wants must have their means,
But we will walk the field like one who gleans
After the sheaf is carried,—stooping low
For little; without heart or power to sow,
But picking what is scatter'd, as we downward go.
Life must run on,—but it will be through weeds:
Alas, it has turn'd from the cheerful meads,
And sedgy and dull, no matter how short,
'Twill wear on its way to that gloomy port,
Where the sea of oblivion comes up on the coast,
And we shall sink where our child has been lost!' p. 7—10.

The following passage is powerfully written : the figure of Death becoming the mourner's companion, reminds us of an exquisite passage in Shakspeare, which probably suggested it.*

' This midnight moment on his death-bed seem'd
The first and last,—the single point of life ;
The Past was scattering like a vision dream'd
Of fading comfort, and of useless strife :
Pageants of pleasure, visitings of pain,
Mingled and melted like a phantom-train ;
A Show that *had been*,—acting good and ill,—
Made exit now into a cloudy space,
Which all that ever *would be* could not fill,
For nature's seeds had there no growing place.
From all the Past a chasm did us part,—
The Future was cut off from earthly grace,
For here, 'twixt us and it, there was Death's dart,
About to pierce us nearer than the heart ;
And we were failing in that chrystal face
Which was our very Souls' fair looking-glass,
In which we saw forms shine, and fashions pass,
And where alone we could our living trace.
Its mirror broken, life would show no more,
But all along the road, that stretch'd before,
Was Death,—dark Death ! who, when our child was slain,
Would turn to us,—never to part again,—
And walk with us,—companion mute and chill,—
Through days, or years, up to the time to kill !
It shook him but a little,—'twas soon o'er,—
He made one effort, and he made no more :
Life rippled as it left the shore it knew,
And the surge roughen'd as the wave withdrew :
We saw him struggle,—and we still look'd on,—
We saw him settle,—and our child was gone !
' Gone !—is Paul gone ? Oh, no ! we see his form,—
But ah, that touch tells all.—He once was warm !
An instant has but past, and now we feel
A Power hath shut us out, and fixed a seal ;
An instant has but past, and here are we
Parted from him by more than land or sea !
Two hours ago, and we could hear him speak,—
Two moments, and he breath'd, though 'twas in pain,—

-
- * * Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
' Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me ;
' Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
' Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
' Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form ;
' Then, have I reason to be fond of grief.'

Queen Constance in "*King John*."

But now a passiveness is on his cheek,—
He will not look,—he will not speak again !
It fell on us like frost ! and we were quell'd,
But passion roll'd below, and soon it heav'd,
And burst the icy heaviness and swell'd,
And went in riot forth, as glad to be reliev'd :
For he was blind, whose eye could check excess,—
And he was mute whose voice could sorrow bless.

pp. 30—33.

We must make room for one short extract more.

' Death hath a regal look,—it lies in state—
Its quietness is that of sovereign power ;
'Tis placid in the certainty of fate.
And noble, for it hold not of the hour :
A guarding mystery its couch surrounds,
As though it rested far beyond our bounds.
They're tinsel trifles of which kings are proud,
But there's deep majesty in that white shroud.' pp. 39—40.

There are doubtless some critical readers who will be disposed to think there is an *excess* in our Author's colouring, an exaggeration in the sentiments and feelings he describes, if not beyond what is natural, beyond what is consistent with strength of mind and manly character. Of this, however, the critic may not be the proper person to judge ; let the father decide. Others may object to the quality of some of the sentiments, at least to their negative quality ; but in perusing this poem, we considered ourselves as listening to a real history of feeling, rather than to a moral lesson ; and we therefore deemed it reasonable that the Author should be allowed to give us the thoughts that came to his mind unsought, rather than the better considerations of which the subject admits, and which we hope it ultimately suggested.

How beautiful is the exclamation of Mr. Cecil on the loss of his child ; " Part of myself is gone to heaven : Lord help what remains to follow !"

The other poems exhibit the same originality of thought, with similar defects of taste in the style, as the principal poem. There is a little tincture, perhaps, of that affectation of originality, which assumes so ludicrous an appearance in some of Mr. Leigh Hunt's poems, and which appears to result from an excessive effort to be forcible. Such expressions as,

' The hubbub of the bursting-in affections,'

have no beauty whatever in our estimation, to redeem them from puerility ; and such rhymes as ' struggling,' and ' juggling,' may be ingenious, but certainly, they are not pleasing. The most silly species of affectation, however, is the affectation of obscurity, as if that were the necessary attribute of the sub-

time. Mr. Scott will do well to avoid this petty vice in his future productions. A conception may be in itself very fine, but if it is not fully developed, it cannot deserve the name of poetry, for the essence of poetry is expression, and that wherein the poet principally differs from other men of imaginations equally vigorous, is in the power or art of expression; and expression, in order to be beautiful, must be perspicuous.

The following passage is, we think, faulty in this respect: the author's meaning lies too deep beneath the surface of his expressions; but there is, if we mistake not, considerable grandeur as well as moral beauty in the imagery. The title of the poem is,

'Instinct of the Spirit towards the Past.

- Destruction hath a power to fascinate,
Stronger than that by which it can appal;
Our nature drags us to the gulph of Fate,
To gaze adown its sides precipitate,
And wonder at the fragments of the fall!
There dwells, we know, our Being's Destiny—
And there the Past, and there the Future lie;
The Tree of Life hath sunken there its roots—
And, though the stem may flourish and rise high,
Its branches overhang, and drop their fruits
Back in the depth,—where only we espy,—
Away from earth,—all the earth's certainty.

Our footing is a line:—the abyss includes
A vastness upon which the spirit broods;
Still hovering over where it must descend:
All that encourages, rewards, deludes,
Causes the stream of mortal thought to tend
To this great gulph,—where fact and fancy blend.
And hence the Soul is charm'd 'mongst heaps of stone,
Where Ruin lies, in ponderous state, alone;
And twilight, as his pall, is ever spread—
As if from some unworldly place were thrown
The shadows of the long departed dead,
That stretch upon the air, from whence life's hue hath fled.

' In petty interests and selfish cares,
Our day is parcell'd out, estrang'd and poor;
It lasts by moments,—'tis enjoy'd in shares,
That little have to love, and less that's sure.
Lest men again the heavens should defy,
Frontiers, and creeds, and tongues, they multiply,
That Babel's scattering ever may endure!
But, though a thousand streams at variance roll,
There is *one* ocean that receives the whole;
A mighty unity, whose dark profound
Is yet upbearing,—speaking but one sound,

Which echoes from the deepness of its breast ;
And tracing out a path in its great round,
Where meet the North and South, the East and West ;
So that extremest parts approach and kiss,
By help of this wild, fathomless, abyss !

' And death is wild, and fathomless, and cold,—
Yet doth its awful waste invite the mind
To launch amongst its horrors,—steering bold,
O'er many a lost adventurer, to find
A sole assurance of our general kind.
A name that floats upon its 'whelming wave,
Or a small wreck of some long-founder'd freight,
Are precious prizes which men seek to save ;—
And o'er such fragments feel they more elate,
Than when full on them shines the pomp of living state !'

pp. 54, 6.

The Poem entitled ' Exercises of the Mind,' is a palpable imitation of Wordsworth's style, of whose poetry Mr. Scott is evidently a fervent admirer. There is something dazzling in the pompous diction of metaphysical poetry, but when we get at the real meaning that is enveloped in the picturesque hieroglyphics of which it consists, it generally proves to be wisdom of a very homely or unimportant description. It reminds us of the awful labyrinthine caverns, of which travellers tell us, which promise the imagination the disclosure of the most romantic wonders ; but when penetrated to their inmost recesses, they present nothing but vast chambers of mysterious emptiness, which refer the baffled mind back to ages past for their origin and use.

Two short poems entitled " England," occupy the remaining pages.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

Dr. Montucci has in the press, an account of the Rev. Robert Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, and of his own. It will form a quarto volume, containing about 200 pages, on superfine vellum paper, with above a thousand engraved Chinese Characters.

In the press, a History of British India. By James Mill, Esq. In three volumes, quarto.

Dr. Drake, author of Literary Hours, has in the press, Shakspeare and his Times; including the biography of the poet, criticisms on his genius and writings, and a history of the manners, customs, &c. of his age.

The Rev. Dr. W. B. Collyer is printing, in an octavo volume, Lectures on Scripture Doctrines.

In the press, a Theological Enquiry into the Sacrament of Baptism, and the nature of Baptismal Regeneration, in five discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge, April 1817. By the Rev. C. Benson, A.M.

A Sketch of the History and Cure of Febrile Diseases, more particularly the Febrile Diseases of the West Indies, as they appear among the soldiers of the British Army. By Robert Jackson, M.D. is in the press.

Mr. Britton's Third Number of his Illustrations of "Winchester Cathedral," is just published, and contains six engravings, with a dedication to her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

No. VI. of Havell's "Views of Seats," contains engravings, with historical and descriptive accounts, of Buckingham House, and Holland House, Middlesex. The former is displayed as a winter-scene with skaters, &c. from a fine drawing by John Burnett; and the latter from a drawing by the late Joseph Clarendon Smith. Both the accounts are from the pen of Mr. Britton.

The British Lady's Magazine will in future be conducted on a new plan, printed on superfine paper, and embel-

lished with at least three engravings, and a piece of original music.

Ray's Proverbs, elegantly printed in one thick volume, duodecimo, from the best edition of 1768, will appear in the course of the present month.

The Rev. T. F. Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, which has been delayed by the great increase of matter, is expected to appear early in July.

Mr. Wm. Phillips, author of the Outlines of Mineralogy, will soon publish, in a duodecimo volume, Eight Familiar Lectures on Astronomy, delivered last winter at Tottenham.

Mr. Nicholas will soon publish, in two octavo volumes, the Journal of a Voyage to New Zealand, in company with the Rev. S. Marsden; with an account of the country and its inhabitants.

In the press, and speedily will be published, editions in French and English, of Memoirs of the Marquis D'Angéau, written by himself; containing a vast number of unknown facts and anecdotes, relative to Louis XIV. his court, &c. Now first published from the original MS. Journal, with historical and critical Notes, by Madame de Genlis.

A new Work in one volume octavo, will shortly appear, entitled Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution in France, and of the sufferings of the Royal Family, deduced chiefly from accounts by eye-witnesses, which will exhibit, besides information from other sources, a combined narrative of details from M. Hue, Cléry, Edgeworth, and Madame Royale, now Duchesse d'Angoulême.

The Author of the Antidote to the Miseries of Human Life, has in the press, a work entitled Cœlebs, deceived.

Shortly will be published, a Poetical Epistle to the King of Hayti. In Five Cantos.

Thomas Walter Williams, of the Inner Temple, Esq. is printing a continuation of his compendious abstract of all the public acts, on the same scale and plan as the acts passed anno 1816, which

will be published immediately after the close of the present session of parliament.

Shortly will be published, a Picturesque Tour through France, Switzerland, on the banks of the Rhine, and through part of the Netherlands.

Mr. Parkinson, of Hoxton, will soon publish, an Essay on the Shaking Palsy.

Mr. John Bell has in the press, the Consulting Surgeon, in a royal octavo volume.

Mr. W. Salisbury, of Sloane-street, has nearly ready for publication, the Cottager's Companion, intended to instruct the labouring poor in the art of cottage gardening.

The First Volume of the Elgin Marbles, with an historical and topographical account of Athens, illustrated by about forty plates, will soon appear.

The Ruins of Gour, with a topographical map and eighteen views, compiled from the manuscripts and drawings of the late N. Creighton, Esq. is printing in a quarto volume.

The Sacred Edict; containing sixteen maxims of emperor Kang Hsi, amplified by his son, emperor Yoong Ching, with a paraphrase by a Mandarin; translated from the Chinese, and illustrated by notes, by the Rev. Wm. Milne, is printing in an octavo volume.

Capt. C. Clarke, of the Royal Artillery, has in the press, a Summary View of the State of Spain at the Restoration of Ferdinand VII.

Mr. John Bigland will soon publish, an Historical Display of the Effects of Physical and Moral Causes on the Character and Circumstances of Nations.

The Clerical Guide, or Ecclesiastical Directory, containing a register of the dignitaries of the church, and a list of all the benefices in England and Wales, is in the press.

Conversations on Botany, illustrated by twenty engravings, in a duodecimo volume, will soon appear.

Mr. Wm. Mackenzie, of Edinburgh, has in the press, the Swiss Patriots, a new poem; also a new edition, with additions, of the Sorrows of Seduction, and other poems.

A new edition of Dr. Sancroft's Modern Politics, written during the Protectorate, is in the press.

In the press, and will be published in the course of the present month, Scripture Portraits, or Biographical Memoirs of the most distinguished characters recorded in the Old Testament, with

historical narratives of the principal events, accompanied with serious, moral, and practical reflections, with appropriate mottoes to each portrait, adapted to Juvenile Readers. By the Rev. R. Stevenson, of Castle Hedingham, 2 vols. 12mo.

The Rev. Ingram Cobbin, A.M. Author of the French Preacher lately published, has in the press, in one volume duodecimo, Philanthropy and other Poems.

The Rev. T. Morell, Author of Studies in History, has in the press, an additional volume of that work, which will contain the History of England from its earliest period, to the death of Elizabeth, and which, like the preceding Histories of Greece and Rome, will be published both in octavo and duodecimo.—The concluding volume of the series, in which the History of England will be brought down to the present period, will follow as quickly as possible.

The Rev. H. C. O'Donnoghue, is about to publish a series of Practical Lectures on the Leading Doctrines of the Gospel, in which he has endeavoured to avoid all reference to subjects of a controversial, or merely speculative nature, as incompatible with his professed and sole object of treating in a plain and practical manner, those great and fundamental doctrines, which Christians, in every age and in every place, recognize as being according to godliness; and which indisputably tend to manifest the riches of divine grace, as displayed in the redemption of a guilty, ruined world, by the incarnation, obedience, sufferings, and death of him, who is "The Lord our Righteousness." The work will be printed on a fine paper, uniform with the Author's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles.

In the press, and to be published by subscription, handsomely printed in duodecimo, price 5s. The Memoirs of the late Miss Emma Humphries, of Frome, Somersetshire; with a Series of Letters to Young Ladies, on the Influence of Religion in the formation of their moral and intellectual character, and to Parents on the Religious Education and the Bereavement of their Children. By T. East.

For the press, Remarks on the individual Antichrist of the last days, being a farther examination of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and of the various interpretations which have at different times been given of it. To which is

added, a full reply to the strictures of Mr. Faber, upon the Combined view of the prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John. By James Hatley Frere, Esq.

The Third Volume of the new edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, with great additions, edited and continued by Mr. Bliss, will be published on the 6th of June, closely printed in royal quarto. The fourth volume is in the press.

A small work of much utility will be published in a few days, entitled *Errors of Pronunciation and Improper Expressions in current use*, chiefly by the inhabitants of London, to which are added those in similar misuse by the inhabitants of Paris.

A new edition of Mr. Cumberland's periodical work entitled the *Observer*, will be published in a few days, in three volumes.

Lord Byron has lately written, and sent over to his publisher, a Drama, entitled *Manfred*, which may be expected to appear about the second of June.

Mr. T. N. Talfourd of the Middle Temple, is preparing for publication, a *Practical Treatise on the Laws of Toleration and Religious Liberty*, as they affect every class of Dissenters from the Church of England, intended to form a compendium of the civil, political, and religious rights of all his Majesty's subjects, as at present affected by the profession of religious opinions, with an appendix, containing the most important statutes on the subject of Toleration, and forms of Proceedings by indictment, and before Magistrates, for infractions of the Laws protecting worship, and other offences relating to Religion, in one volume, octavo.

Art. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Annual Biography and Obituary, with Silhouette Portraits. Containing—1. Memoirs of those celebrated Men, who have died within the Years 1815-1816.—II. Neglected Biography, with Biographical Notices and Anecdotes, and Original Letters.—III. Analyses of recent Biographical Works.—IV. A Biographical List of Persons who have died within the British Dominions, so as to form a Work for reference, both now and hereafter. 8vo. 15s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Q. Horatii Flacci Opera, ad Exemplar Recensionis Benteleianæ plerumque emendata, et brevibus Notis instructa. Edidit Thomas Kidd, A.M.E. Coll. S. S. Trin. With the Metres of Horace prefixed to each Ode. royal 12mo. 15s. royal 18mo. 7s. 6d.

The Works of Virgil, in the order of Construction. To which is prefixed, in English, a summary view of the subject of each of the Eclogues, and of the several Books of the Georgics and *Æneid*. By William B. Smith, 12mo. 4s. 6d. bound.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Recent Shells, according to the Linnean Method, with particular Attention to the Synonymy. By Lewis Weston Dillwyn, F.R.S. F.L.S. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 18s. boards.

EDUCATION.

Classical Reading Lessons for every Day in the Year, selected chiefly from modern English Writers of the Reign of George the Third. By the Rev. W. Sharpe. 12mo. 5s. 6d. bound.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Speeches of Charles Phillips, Esq. delivered at the Bar, and on various Public Occasions, in Ireland and England. 8vo, 7s. boards.

. This Volume is edited by Mr. Phillips himself, and is the only Publication of his Speeches authorized by him.

Part V (containing Six coloured and Two other Engravings) of Volume II. of The Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London. 4to, 1l. 11s. 6d.

Letters from the North Highlands, during the Summer of 1816. By Miss E. Spence, Author of a Caledonian Excursion, &c. &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Beauties of Massinger; dedicated, by Permission, to William Gifford, Esq. 12mo, 8s.

Rachel, a Tale, foolscap 8vo. with a beautiful frontispiece. 5s.

Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu, between the years 1755 and 1800, chiefly upon literary and moral subjects. Published from the originals in the possession of the Rev. Montagu Pennington, M. A. Vicar

of Northbourn, in Kent. 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 7s.

Germanicus. *Tragedie en Cinq Actes et en Vers*, par A. V. Arnault, 8vo. 3s.

A Translation of the above in Blank Verse. By George Bernel, 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Description of the Pictures in the Royal Museum at the Louvre, with Biographical Notices of the different Painters; to which is added, a Description of the Museum of Sculpture in the Lower Gallery, small pocket Volume, 3s.

Planta's New Picture of Paris, Sixth Edition, much enlarged, and entirely recomposed. Illustrated with Maps, Plan, and numerous Views of the Public Buildings, 18mo. price 8s. bound.

The Art of Correspondence, consisting of French and English Letters, neat pocket Volume, 5s.

POETRY.

Phrosyne, a Grecian Tale: Alashtar, an Arabian Tale. By H. Gally Knight, Esq. 8vo, 5s. 6d.

Modern Greece, a Poem. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

A Translation of the *Æneis* in rhymed Verse, with a Critical Preface and Notes. By Charles Symmons, D. D. of Jesus College, Oxford, royal 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d.

POLITICAL.

Letter to William Smith, Esq. M. P. for Norwich, from Robert Southey, Esq. 8vo. 2s.

The Patriot's Portfolio, price 2s.

THEOLOGY.

A Series of Pastoral Letters on Non-conformity, from a Dissenting Minister to a Youth in his Congregation, foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Selection of Sermons and Charges. By the late Rev. Edward Williams, D. D. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

The Works of President Edwards Complete, with occasional Notes on controverted Subjects, and an accurate copious Index. By the Rev. Edward Williams, D. D. and the Rev. E. Parsons. A New Edition, 8 vols. royal 8vo. 4l. 16s.

Parochial Instruction; or, Sermons delivered from the Pulpit, at different times, in the course of Thirty Years. By James Bean, M. A. one of the Librarians of the British Museum, and Assistant Minister of Welbeck Chapel, St. Mary-le-bone, 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Oweniana; or, Select Passages from

the Works of Owen. Arranged by Arthur Young, Esq. F. R. S. 12mo, 4s. 6d.

A Treatise touching the Liberty of a Christian Man; written in Latin, by Martyn Luther (in 1520); to which is prefixed, his celebrated Epistle to Pope Leo X.—Translated from the Original by James Bell.—Imprinted 1579. Edited by Wm. Bengo' Collyer, D. D. F. S. A. Dedicated (by permission) to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex. 12mo, 3s. boards.

Practical Discourses. By the Rev. Joshua Gilpin, Vicar of Wrockwardine, Salop, 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

A Word in Opposition to Fanatical, Calvinistic, and Solifidian Views of Christianity; in a Farewell Sermon, preached to the Congregation of St. James' Church, Bath, on Sunday the 23d of March, 1817. By the Rev. R. Warner, Curate of that Parish for Twenty-two Years. Price 2s.

Fifty-two Lectures on the Catechism of the Church of England: to which are added, Three Introductory Discourses on the Subject, addressed to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Hinxworth, Herts. Dedicated, by permission, to the Rt. Rev. Bowyer Edward, Lord Bishop of Ely. By the Rev. Sir Adam Gordon, Bart. M. A. late of Christ Church, Oxford, Rector of West Tilbury, Essex, Prebendary of Bristol, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 11s. 6d.

The Fulfilment of Prophecy further Illustrated by the Signs of the Times; or, an Attempt to ascertain the probable Issues of the recent Restoration of the Old Dynasties; of the Revival of Popery; and of the Present Mental Ferment in Europe; as likewise, How far Great Britain is likely to Share in the Calamities by which Divine Providence will accomplish the Final Overthrow of the Kingdoms of the Roman Monarchy. By J. Bicheno, M. A. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Sermons on Various Subjects; by the late William Bell, D. D. Prebendary of St. Peter's, Westminster. Published by Joseph Allen, M. A. Prebendary of Westminster, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

A Tribute of Sympathy, addressed to Mourners. By W. Newnam, Esq. 12mo. 5s.

The Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy. A Discourse from Revelations, xix. 10.

An Attempt to Support the Diversity of Future Rewards, 8vo. 4s.

TOPOGRAPHY, TRAVELS, &c.

Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in 1815; with an Account of the Sufferings of her surviving Officers and Crew, who were enslaved by the Wandering Arabs on the Great African Desert; and Observations, made during the Travels of the Author, while a Slave to the Arabs. By James Riley, late Master and Supercargo. Concluded by a Description of the City of Tombuctoo, on the River Niger, and of another large City (far south of it) on the same River, called Wassanah. Printed uniformly with Park and Adams's Travels in Africa, 4to. with a Map, 11. 15s.

The Statistical Account, or Parochial Survey of Ireland. Drawn up from the Communications of the Clergy. By William Shaw Mason, Esq. M. R. I. A. Remembrancer and Receiver of First Fruits, and Secretary to the Board of Public Records. Vol. 2, 8vo. 11. 1s. boards.

FINE ARTS.

The Costume of the Netherlands; illustrated by Thirty coloured Engravings, after Drawings by Miss Semple; with descriptive Letter-press, in English

and French. In 3 Parts, imp. 4to. 15s. each, or 21. 8s. boards.

Number I. of a New Drawing Book, for the Use of Beginners; by Samuel Prout; consisting of Fragments of Ancient Buildings, &c. etched in imitation of Chalk. Price 6s.

The First Number contains an elementary Plate on Perspective, with descriptive Letter-press; and the Work will be completed in Four Monthly Numbers, each containing Six Plates.

Number I. of Albert Durer's Prayer Book: consisting of Forty-five Designs of exquisitely tasteful Ornaments, and a Portrait of that celebrated Artist, copied on stone, from an Edition published two Years ago at Munich. Price 10s. 6d.

The Publisher hopes to produce, in the Lithographic Art, an English Copy equal to the German, which is a perfect Fac-simile of the famous Original. It will be comprised in Five Monthly Numbers.

Number I. of a Series of Incidents of English Bravery, during the late Campaigns on the Continent; by A. Atkinson. Price 6s.

The First Number contains Four Designs; and the Work will be completed in Six Monthly Numbers.

Erratum in the last Number.

P. 486, line 5 from the bottom, for 1793 read 1796.